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OLIVER CROMWELL

LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL

TO THE DEATH OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

BY

J. R. ANDREWS,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.
1870.

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LIFE

OF

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CHAPTER I.

The Wars of the Roses—The Putney Blacksmith and his Two Children—The Marriage of the Daughter—Thomas Cromwell travels Abroad—Engaged as Secretary to Cardinal Wolsey—Fall of Wolsey—Cromwell becomes Secretary to Cranmer—The Suppression of Monastic Institutions—The Monks of Old—Their Discoveries and Inventions—Retributive Parallels in the History of the Tudors—The Stuarts and the Cromwells—The Pedigree of the Morgan-ap-Williams Family—Richard Williams's (alias Cromwell) Letter to his Uncle, Thomas Lord Cromwell—Great Wealth of Sir Richard Cromwell—Dissipated by his Son Henry—Robert Cromwell, Grandson of Sir Henry, and Father of Oliver the Protector, settles in Huntingdon—The State of the Church of England shortly after the Reformation—The Vestiarian Controversy—Irregularities in the Mode of Celebrating Divine Worship—The Oath of Supremacy Objected to and Enforced—Archbishop Parker and Queen Elizabeth drive Coverdale out of the Pale of the Church—Specimen of a Full-Robed Canonical—Grindall's Alarm at Parker's Violent Proceedings—Censors and Spies introduced.

SOMEWHAT towards the close of the fifteenth century—when the long Wars of the Roses, which had lasted eighty years, were drawing to a termination, consequent on the great victory at Bosworth Field, gained by Henry VII. over the tyrant Richard—there was living in the quiet village of Putney, not far from London, a man who carried on the trade of blacksmith, by name Cromwell.

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In subsequent times a son and daughter of this otherwise unknown individual lived to become somewhat noticeable in their day and generation. He must have been, let us suppose, in well-to-do circumstances, this village blacksmith. Probably, however, at the period when this history begins, he had forsaken the old forge to carry on the business of brewer in the same village.

If parish registers had at that time been in existence, the exact date when this brewer's daughter married one Morgan ap Williams, a gentleman of ancient Welsh descent, could easily have been ascertained. Certain chronological facts, however, combine to warrant the conclusion, that this event must have taken place some time during the latter years of Henry VII.'s reign. Meanwhile, the brother, Thomas Cromwell, was quietly working his way to fame, and was occupied in laying the foundation of that success which ultimately led to his brief but perilous exaltation. In order to acquire a knowledge of continental languages, he pursued his studies abroad, and was thus soon enabled, by the facility he possessed, together with his business habits, to obtain a situation of confidence and trust in a large manufacturing establishment at Antwerp.

Returning to England after a few years' absence, his next engagement must have been one more congenial to his taste, for in the year 1510 he obtained an appointment of secretary and interpreter to some citizens of Boston in Lincolnshire who were going to Rome. It was during this visit that Cromwell succeeded in gaining the extensive insight of the crafty

policy of the Papacy, and of the Roman civil law, which became of so much service to him on his return; for, shortly after the termination of his engagement with the Boston citizens, he was sent for by Cardinal Wolsey, who had been privately informed that there was in Cromwell the man who above all others could give him exactly the information he required. The interview was brief but satisfactory, and at its termination Cromwell became secretary to the Cardinal. Thus was gained the first round of the ambitious ladder the future Chancellor was so anxious to compass, and which his great talents, no less than his lofty aspirations, had contributed to accomplish.

After the fall of Wolsey, Cromwell passed into the service of his successor. As secretary to Cranmer, his duties frequently brought him into the presence of the King, and it was during this engagement that his great abilities attracted the notice of his Majesty, whose servant and chancellor he shortly afterwards became. At what period he changed his religion and adopted the Protestant faith, history does not tell us; most probably it took place during his visit to, or shortly after his return from Rome. As the early friend of the Reformation, we find him among the first who took an active part in that great struggle, and during his brief career he was to the last regarded as its chief champion and defender.

Cromwell's greatest achievement, as is well known, was the suppression of monastic institutions throughout the land. The period of their rule in these

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realms it has been customary to stigmatise as the dark ages; but let us at the same time be just to those great pioneers of modern civilisation. The monk and the knight were a necessary phase of a state of society existing in that day, ridiculous and mischievous as would be their influential presence at the present period. The broad acres of Old England are indebted, and bear silent testimony to this day, to the picturesque skill and industry of its former monastic possessors. To them we owe the charming subdivision of the land into fields and meadows, the shady lanes studded by elm and oak; the old-fashioned grassy lawns soft as moss; the well-stocked mill-streams and fish-ponds; those high-walled gardens covered with fruit trees. Nor can we look abroad on the landscape, dotted over as it is with picturesque old gabled houses, spacious barns, village spires and steeples, without failing to recognise that these men in their day and generation have not lived in vain. Let us also remember that to them we owe the first introduction of silk into Europe. Two monks who were travelling in the East, secreted in a cane a quantity of the eggs of an Oriental insect, and brought them to Constantinople, about the year 552, having made the discovery, long kept a secret by the natives, of the value of the silkworm—all these, and more if necessary, may be adduced to prove our indebtedness to the monks of olden time.

Of all educational difficulties, the last lesson for nations to learn has ever been the lesson of toleration: it is still a question whether this country, with all its vaunted advantages, has not yet to learn

something in this way. When we therefore condemn those who, three or four centuries ago, rewarded Columbus and Galileo for their discoveries with chains, let us remember that scarcely half a century has elapsed since it was sneeringly said that the people of Woolwich would as soon suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's rockets, as trust themselves to the mercy of a locomotive engine going eighteen or twenty miles an hour.[1]

Among the many instances history furnishes of what may not inappropriately be called retributive parallels, is that peculiar one in reference to the families of the Tudors, the Stuarts, and the Cromwells. It is remarkable that the two Cromwells—those two, at least, who figure to any purpose in the world's history—the first and the last, Thomas and Oliver, separated by a brief period of sixty years between the death of the one and the birth of the other—had each a sanguinary connection with the reigning monarch on the throne of these realms.

It is not in vain the Divine decree has ordained, that 'whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;' for the sins of the father *are* visited upon the children even now, to the third and fourth generation.[2] Those who care to look into these

[1] *Quarterly Review* for 1825.

[2] 'The places are very numerous in the Old Testament which warrant the idea that the guilt of a nation is proceeded with as the guilt of an individual is—in that there is a reckoning for the past with a nation even as there is with the individual; that this vengeance comprehends the earlier as well as the latter guilt, even though the former may have been incurred at the distance backward of many generations. However mysterious such a proceeding is to us, it falls in with many analogies of history and experience—is of a piece with original sin; and even the New Testament can be quoted in support of it. The Saviour speaks of

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matters, may find fulfilments as literal and startling as that which we are now going to mention.

The blood of Thomas Cromwell, the victim of Henry VIII., so unrighteously shed on Tower Hill in the year 1540, was avenged on the person of Henry's descendant three generations later. One hundred and nine years were suffered to elapse, but then came the catastrophe at Whitehall, and Charles I. of England was led to the scaffold. Not the least noteworthy fact is it, that the man who beyond all others most conduced to this latter tragedy was Oliver Cromwell, the nephew, three generations later, of the murdered Lord Chancellor.

It may further be remarked that these two Cromwells were engaged in accomplishing the same object: to each the same task was appointed, that of abolishing the Roman Catholic religion in this country. Eradicated but partially out of the Church, it lingered a century or so longer, and then dragged down along with it both Church and State, monarchy and constitution. The chief agents employed in both eras were the two Cromwells.

Morgan ap Williams, who married the Putney

filling up the measure of the iniquities of their fathers, and of the sins of their ancestors being visited.'—*Dr. Chalmers.*

It may occur doubtless to some minds that this view of the Divine enactments in reference to the government of the world is in contradiction to other passages in Scripture, as in Ezekiel for instance, where the Prophet is directed to answer a proverb used by the Israelites, viz., 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge.' Whereas the inspired reply to this is clearly corroborative and not antagonistic to the Mosaic commandment in Genesis ix. 6, and Exodus xx. 5, 'Behold, all souls are mine: as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: *the soul that sinneth it shall die.* . . But if a man be just, and do that which is lawful and right, . . . he shall surely live, saith the Lord God.' (Ezekiel xviii. 2, 4, 5, 9.)

blacksmith's daughter, as before mentioned, belonged to an ancient Welsh family settled in the neighbourhood of Cardiff. An ancestor of Morgan's, one Ywan ap Williams, had an estate of 300*l.* a-year in the county of Cardigan, a large sum in those days. It is, however, the fortunes of the descendants, and not of the ancestors, that concern us. How and when the Welsh Williams family got transplanted into the Fen district of England, is not known; most probably it occurred in the next generation, for the son of Morgan, Cromwell's sister's child, Richard, married (in 1518) a wealthy lady of the neighbourhood of Ely, where her father, Sir Thomas Murfyn, at that time Lord Mayor of London, had large possessions.

The uncle was greatly attached to his nephew, and lost no opportunity of forwarding his interests. Cromwell, besides, had it now in his power; he was in high favour at court; introduced Richard to the King, who made him a knight, and by royal command the family name of Williams was changed to that of Cromwell.

Some doubts, it may here be mentioned, exist as to the right of Richard Williams to claim kindred with the Williams of Glamorganshire or Cardiganshire; but of his relationship to the Lord Cromwell there can be no question, for the following letter to Cromwell, in which he styles himself, 'Your Lordship's most bounden Nephew,' settles this interesting point:—

'To my Lord Cromwell,—I have me most humbly commended unto your Lordship. I rode on Sunday

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to Cambridge to my bed, and the next morning was up betimes, purposing to have found at Ely Mr. Pollard and Mr. Williams. But they were departed before my coming: and they being at dinner at Somersham with the Bishop of Ely, I overtook them. At which time I opened your pleasure unto them in everything. Your Lordship, I think, shall shortly perceive the Prior of Ely to be of a forward sort, by evident tokens, as at our coming home shall be at large related to you.

'At the writing hereof we have done nothing at Ramsey; saving that one night I communed with the Abbot, whom I found conformable to everything, as shall at this time be put in act.[1] And then, as your Lordship's will is, as soon as we have done at Ramsey, we go to Peterborough, and from thence to my house, and so home. The which I trust shall be, at the farthest, on this day come seven days.

'That the Blessed Trinity preserve your lordship's health.

'Your lordship's most bounden Nephew,

'RICHARD CROMWELL.'

'From Ramsey on Tuesday, in the morning.'

Thomas Lord Cromwell was at that time busily occupied in suppressing monasteries, in which employment, as this letter also shows, the nephew was engaged. The Cromwells are supposed to have come originally from Cromwell in Nottinghamshire, not far from the Fen neighbourhood.

It would appear that the deadly hatred which the

[1] Agreed to.

King had exhibited towards the uncle was not continued to the person of the nephew; for the monarch, as if to mark the appeasement of his wrath, showered down upon the latter immense wealth, in the form of special grants of the confiscated property belonging to the monasteries. The rich abbey-lands of Hinchinbrook, Yarmouth, and Ramsey, in the Fen district, thus came into his possession. So great was the wealth he thus acquired, that he became known and distinguished as the Golden Knight in all the country round. He was likewise chosen to fill the office of sheriff for the county of Huntingdon, in the year 1541, and the year following was returned to Parliament for the same county. The greater part of Sir Richard's vast wealth was, however, dissipated away in the next generation by his son and successor, Sir Henry Cromwell, whose profuse and extravagant hospitality soon reduced the Golden Knight's estates to a narrow compass. At the death of Sir Henry, in 1603, his eldest son (Oliver) inherited what remained of the paternal estate at Hinchinbrook and elsewhere. This was the grandfather of the subject of this memoir, Oliver Cromwell the Protector. Oliver's father was the second son, Robert, who settled in the town of Huntingdon as a farmer, to which the business of the brewery was subsequently added by the same individual.

Meanwhile, eventful changes in both Church and State, at the period we have now arrived at, were taking place. Queen Mary, of bloody memory, had been dead five years. Parker, the new Protestant primate, had supplanted, under Elizabeth, the Cardinal Archbishop

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Pole. The controversy begun thirteen years before by Bishop Hooper, concerning the priestly vestments, which that illustrious Bishop maintained were a relic of the old Popish superstition—those same vestments which at present are the subject of a similar controversy—had now become a vital one. The Queen, as also the new Primate, were strongly in favour of retaining the vestments; Hooper and the early Puritans as strenuous for their abolition.

To settle the dispute, the Queen decided on enforcing obedience to the canonical law. The Uniformity Act, drawn up by Cranmer and others, had been re-enacted the year following the Queen's accession; but the penalties for non-obedience, which had hitherto been in abeyance, were now to be enforced. 'That fatal measure,' observes Neil, in his 'History of the Puritans,' 'the rigorous pressure of which was the occasion of all the mischiefs that befell the Church for above eighty years,'—this Act provided that the order of Divine worship, as drawn up by Cranmer, should for the future be the only one in use throughout the kingdom, in every parish church; the penalties for non-compliance being fine and imprisonment. The evils it was intended to correct were no doubt serious ones so far as they affected the external discipline of the clergy. The doctrines supposed to be symbolised by the vestments worn, were not as yet involved in the consideration, nor was it until a century later, that an Act passed requiring uniformity in both discipline and doctrine. It was the enforcement of this later Act, in 1662, which caused upwards of 2,000 clergymen to quit the Established Church.

The diversities in the mode of celebrating Divine worship, which up to this time had existed among the clergy, may be gathered from a document laid before the Queen by the Archbishop, wherein he informs her Majesty that 'some clergymen perform service in the chancel, some in the body of the church, some in a seat, some in a pulpit with their faces to the people; some keep to the book, some intermix psalms with metre; some say with a surplice, and some without one. In some places the communion-table stands in the body of the church; in some places it stands altar-wise; in others in the middle of the chancel, placed north and south. Some administer the communion with surplice and cap, some with surplice alone, others with none; some with unleavened bread, and some with leavened. Some receive kneeling, others standing, some sitting. Some baptise in a font, some in a basin; some sign with the sign of the cross; others sign not. Some minister in a surplice, others without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat.'

These were the evils in the Church which Parker sought by violent enactments to correct, and the penalties enforced fell equally on all, whether Puritan ministers, priests, or bishops. The bishops, most of whom had been appointed to their sees in the reign of Queen Mary, were required to take an oath of supremacy to Queen Elizabeth: the whole Bench, with one exception, refused compliance. Coverdale alone took the oath of allegiance. He had been the only bishop willing to assist at the consecration of Parker.

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As a consequence of this refusal to recognise the Queen's supremacy, they were all deprived of their bishoprics. Bonner, White, and Watson, who had made themselves especially obnoxious to the people for their persecuting zeal in the last reign, were thrown into prison.

Some few were permitted to remain in England on parole; the rest fled abroad. As the oath, of course, extended to all the beneficed clergy, the refusals were so numerous, that in some districts scarcely a minister remained qualified to perform divine service. In the year 1563 there were but three preachers left at the University of Oxford, and in all other places it was computed that a fourth part of the clergy were under suspension; and of those who remained it was said not one in six was qualified to compose a sermon.

Truly the Church of England, at this period, may be said to have been in a sad condition! Popery was being openly professed by the great majority of her prelates, as also by many of the parochial clergy; a large and important section refusing to use the vestments were equally disqualified; some there were who carried opposition a step farther, and contended for greater purity of doctrine. Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, was among the latter, and his bishopric, of which he had been deprived in the reign of Mary, had not consequently been restored to him on the accession of Queen Elizabeth. He had struggled for years in poverty and neglect, when at last, through the kindness of Grindall, bishop of London, he was presented to the small living of St. Magnus, near London Bridge; but the Act of Uniformity, which had

now passed, drove him from his parish after a brief occupation of two years. During his ministry he had officiated without wearing the priestly vestments; that, however, was now no longer practicable, and his resignation became a matter of course. Vast numbers used to flock to hear old Father Coverdale, as he was affectionately called. A more fatal step in the interests of the Establishment than that taken by the Queen and Parker, which drove such men as Coverdale from the pale, could hardly have been devised. The new bishops, it is true, were actively zealous in urging among their clergy conformity and obedience; but a large majority of conscientious hard-working parish ministers refused, for the most part, to adopt the obnoxious apparel, the symbol, as they considered, of an idolatrous Church.

By the Act of Uniformity, whole districts were left spiritually destitute. In some parishes it was impossible to find a clergyman to perform the burial service, or that of baptism; and many of the churches, as a matter of course, had to be closed. All the old licences to preach had been called in, and new ones required to be taken out in conformity with the Act. Those among the London clergy who still refused compliance, yet persisted in holding their livings, were cited by Parker, in the year 1565, to appear before him. On being introduced into the council room, they discovered a clergyman, the Rev. Thomas Cole, dressed in full canonicals, who was presented to them as a model specimen of their future clerical costume.

The Bishop's chancellor then spoke as follows: 'My

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masters, and ye ministers of London, the council's pleasure is that ye strictly keep the unity of apparel like this man who stands here canonically habited with a square cap, a scholar's gown, priestlike, a tippet, and in the church a linen surplice: ye that will subscribe, write *volo*; those that will not subscribe, write *nolo*.' Out of a hundred clergymen in the diocese, sixty-one subscribed; the rest were suspended.

The Queen's opposition and dislike to the Puritan portion of her clergy was so violent, that it was with extreme difficulty her consent could be obtained for the removal of the images which, up to this time, had been permitted to remain in the churches. She was equally averse to marriage among the clergy at this period. Such being the state of religion in the early days of Elizabeth, it is no matter of surprise if, as the Church historians of the period inform us, 'The Reformation went heavily on,' or that the laity, who for the most part abhorred the priestly habits, showed their dislike by staying outside during the reading of the service, and entered the sacred edifice only in time to hear the sermon. Bishop Grindall, alarmed at the consequences which threatened the Church of England by these violent proceedings, relented somewhat, we are told; but Parker continued his headlong course, nor stayed his hands until all the London clergy had sworn obedience to the 'Letters Patent of the Privy Council; the Queen's injunction; articles and mandates of the archdeacons, chancellor, and receivers.' Censors and spies were instituted in every parish to see them lawfully obeyed—with what results history fails not to teach,

for a year or two later, when the great body of the nonconforming clergy published their case to the world, they at the same time terminated their connection by separating from the Church as by law established. Thus the breach, which at first might easily have been healed, grew by degrees greater and greater, ending at last in civil war, bloodshed, and revolution.

CHAPTER II.

Change observed towards the Close of the Sixteenth Century in the People of England—Desecration of the Sabbath—The Puritans oppose the Growing Immorality—Await in Hope of a Better State of Things on the Accession of James I.—Oliver Cromwell born in the Town of Huntingdon—Income and Occupation of his Father, Robert Cromwell—Character of Oliver's Mother—His Early Years—King James at Hinchinbrook—Oliver's School Days—Dr. Beard and the Huntingdon Free Grammar School—The Family of Robert and Elizabeth Cromwell—Review of the Principal Events in Church and State at this Period—Elizabeth and her Parliament—Suspension of the Puritan Divines—Queen Elizabeth and her Dislike to Sermons—Accession of James I.—His Antecedents—Puritan Expectations—His Leanings towards the High Church Party—The Milleniary Petition rejected—The Hampton Court Conference—Dr. Reynolds, and the King's Reply to him—The Gunpowder Plot—The King necessitated to call another Parliament—The Royal Game of Chess—The Act of Uniformity—Creation and Sale of Titles of Dignity—Scotch Avidity in Money Matters made known to the Parliament—Domestic Troubles of the King—Unfortunate Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth—Death of the Prince of Wales—Lord Chief Justice Coke and Sir Walter Raleigh—The Disgrace of the Somersets—A New Favourite found in George Villiers—Sir Frances Bacon Lord Keeper—Cromwell enters Sussex College, Cambridge—His Contemporaries in the World of Science and Discovery—The State of England in the Reign of James I.—Prices of Provisions, Labour, &c.—Customs and Habits—Food and Drinks of the Population—National Costumes—Mining Operations—Population of England at Different Periods—National Revenue and Expenditure—Death of Mr. Robert Cromwell—Thoughtless Extravagance of Oliver—Studies at one of the Inns of Court—Heath's Picture of him at Huntingdon.

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TOWARDS the close of the sixteenth century, a change might have been observed creeping over the minds of the people of England, from the court of Queen Elizabeth, down to the lowest ranks in the social scale. The nation was becoming daily less and less

devout. The Court set the example of extravagance in dress and equipage; jousts, tournaments and stage-plays became fashionable amusements. The sabbath, which from the time of the Reformation had been strictly observed, no longer continued so. Oaths and profane swearing were prevalent among all classes; the Queen herself, it is said, not unfrequently indulging in this vice.

The Fourth Commandment, read in the forenoon service of every returning Sunday, was violated in the after-part of the day, which was devoted to the amusements of fencing, shooting, and bowling, to May-games and morris-dances; the clergyman himself being often a spectator, if not a sharer in the sports.

The Puritans, whose blameless lives had hitherto not presented any marked contrast from the surrounding population, began now to appear singular and sectarian in their opposition to the daily increasing immorality.

The controversy about vestiarian matters had long ceased to agitate, and on all other matters in dispute they had retired from the contest, contenting themselves with quietly awaiting the change which it was hoped would be ushered in on the accession of James I.—a personage brought up in the strict principles of their own religion, and to whom they looked for the discouragement and discontinuance of vice, priestcraft, and superstition. Shortly, however, before this event, preceding it by some four years, there appeared on the world's stage, in the last year of the sixteenth century, one whose influence was destined

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far to outweigh that of the monarch for whom the Puritans so quietly watched for and awaited.

Oliver Cromwell was born on April 25, 1599 (old style), in the small town of Huntingdon, fifty-nine miles north of Shoreditch Church; that number, be it remembered, singularly enough coinciding with the number of years of Oliver Cromwell's life. Three generations of the Cromwells had passed away since the fatal event on Tower Hill. Queen Elizabeth, who was in her seventh year when that happened, lived to see the advent of Thomas Lord Cromwell's great-nephew Oliver.

In former days, the town of Huntingdon was celebrated for its large population, had numerous churches and religious houses. There were, according to Leland, fifteen churches within its area; but the ravages of the Great Plague reduced it to comparative insignificance.

The father of Oliver, Robert Cromwell, must have been in prosperous circumstances, for he farmed his own lands, besides being a justice of the peace. His patrimony has been variously estimated at about 300*l.* per annum, no mean sum in those days; yet, as the growing wants of a large and increasing family necessitated an increase in his income, he added the business of a brewer to that of his other occupations.

Sir Edward Coke, the celebrated Lord Chief Justice, when asked one day if he knew Oliver Cromwell, replied, 'Yes, and his father before him, when he kept his brewhouse in Huntingdon.' Oliver's mother was Elizabeth, the daughter of William Stuart of Ely. Noble, in his 'Life of Cromwell,' claims for this lady

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an alliance by birth with the royal House of Stuart. 'Her parents,' he says, 'were people of great worth, and not inclined to disaffection; they lived on a small fortune with decency, and maintained a large family by their frugality.' That she possessed great energy of character, much patient persevering industry, and was of a gentle yet firm disposition, all testimony agrees. 'A woman,' says a distinguished modern writer, 'with the glorious faculty of self-help when other assistance failed her; and when left, by the death of her husband, with a family of six children to provide for, she was, by the labour of her own hands, enabled to give dowries to five daughters, sufficient to marry them into families as honourable but more wealthy than their own, and whose only care, in the midst of all her subsequent splendour, was for the safety of her beloved son in his dangerous eminence, and whose only wish on her deathbed was for a simple burial in some quiet country churchyard.'[1] Mrs. Cromwell carried on the brewery some years after her husband's death, nor thought it any disgrace or disparagement thus to sustain the family estate, whatever opinion to the contrary might have been entertained by her aristocratic kinsmen, at the neighbouring mansion of Hinchinbrook.

Of Oliver's early days but scanty information remains, and that too of a suspicious character. His earliest biographer, Heath, whose work appeared four years after Cromwell's death, and whose prejudices against the Protector are displayed in almost every page, informs us that from his infancy, Oliver was

[1] Forster's Lives of the Statesmen of the Commonwealth.

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'cross and peevish'; that he never, even at that early age, 'spoke what he thought, nor believed what he heard.'

There is an anecdote of Oliver's infant days told by Mark Noble, which, if worthy of credence, would properly belong to this early period of his history. It appears that Sir Henry Cromwell, wishing to see his little grandson, sent for him to Hinchinbrook; and one day, whilst the infant was sleeping in his cradle, a monkey, kept to amuse the visitors, 'crept into the nursery, and lifting the baby out of the crib,' ran away with him on to the leads of the house, to the great consternation of the servants, who saw the monkey seated on the roof. Alarmed at the danger Oliver was in, the family, who were instantly made aware of the affair, had feather beds brought out to catch him in the event of the monkey dropping him; but the sagacious animal brought him down in safety.'

Early in this year, old Sir Henry died, and was succeeded by his eldest son Oliver—he who gave the sumptuous entertainment to King James a few months later, the like of which it was said had never been offered before by a private subject. This occurred during the King's journey from Scotland to take possession of the English throne—'hunting all the way,' says an old chronicler. Sir Oliver (for he was knighted by the King) gave his Majesty horses and hounds, in addition to the costly entertainment, thereby involving an expenditure which somewhat crippled the resources of the Golden Knight for all time to come.

They have a tradition at Huntingdon, says Noble,

that on this occasion the young Duke of York, afterwards Charles I., accompanied his father; and in order to divert the Prince, Sir Oliver sent for his little nephew and namesake to play with his Royal Highness; the two children, however, had not been long together before they quarrelled, and Oliver, to the consternation of the attendants, 'made the royal blood to flow in copious streams from the Prince's nose.' This circumstance, if true, must have happened when Oliver was but four years of age, whilst the Prince had not yet completed his third year.

The royal journey occupied a month on the road, during which the King was profuse in the distribution of empty titles among those who so sumptuously entertained him *en route*. Upwards of two hundred gentlemen are said to have been knighted during this journey.

Oliver's school-days commenced at the Huntingdon Free Grammar School, at that time under the sway of Dr. Beard. Brief and almost worthless are the few notices we have of him at this most interesting period; such as they are, they lead to the conclusion that there was more of the schoolboy than the scholar in him. With plenty of talent, he as yet lacked that without which talent is but of little avail—diligence and application. 'Sometimes,' says Heath, 'he would study hard for a week or two, and then play truant, rob the orchards of the farmers, damage their trees, break down their hedges, enter their enclosures, and finally behave himself so outrageously, that frequent complaints to his father were the consequence, which usually ended in his being soundly thrashed by the

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enraged parent.' He is said to have displayed much talent of another kind, as a performer of school-plays: these generally took place just before the holidays. In one, called the 'Five Senses,' he is said to have been most successful in the character of 'Tacitus, the Sense of Feeling'—a part he was no doubt well-qualified to illustrate, from the frequent rehearsals he endured from the cane in the hands of Dr. Beard and his father. He was heartily flogged on another occasion, says Noble, by Dr. Beard, at the request of his father, for daring to dream one night that he saw a gigantic figure which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he should be the greatest person in the kingdom.

Until we hear of Oliver at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1616, scarcely a trace exists of the Huntingdon family circle, or of any of its members, during this long interval. Robert and Elizabeth Cromwell had in all ten children; three died early, leaving Oliver the only surviving son, with two sisters older and four younger than himself. Robert Cromwell, the father of Oliver, must have been a person of considerable standing and position, for he was made a justice of the peace, and lived to represent his native borough in Parliament.

In our endeavour to search out the causes which have led to the great changes, social, political, and religious, that subsequently took place in this country, it would somewhat possibly assist the enquiry to pass in hasty review the principal leading events which occurred, starting from the commencement of the reign of James I., until we are again overtaken by

the scanty materials history affords at this period of Oliver Cromwell's eventful life.

Let us premise, however, that during the latter part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Court, by its arbitrary and unjust proceedings, had done all in its power to alienate the affections of the people from the Church as by law established. The discipline of the Establishment, hitherto but laxly observed, had been confined to a mere question of vestments. Conformity in the use of the robes when officiating, was henceforth to become a fundamental principle, the neglect of which was to sever the ties affection had bound together in lasting friendship both ministers and congregations, who on all other points were agreed.

In the early days of this controversy, the country clergy had hitherto taken the lead. So far back as the year 1576, a conference had been held, attended chiefly by the clergy from the midland counties, with the object of devising a reformation in the Church without the necessity of separating from it; but the violence of the Court and of the Bishops combined ultimately brought about the calamity so much dreaded by them. Many of the clergy were taken into custody, whilst a great number were suspended from their functions. In Cornwall alone, upwards of 150 were disqualified from preaching a sermon, and in nearly all the parish churches of Norwich scarcely one was found to read the service.

Cambridge had long been noted as the head-quarters of the Puritans. In 1570, Cartwright, a fellow of Trinity College, lectured against the arbitrary

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power of the hierarchy, for which he was deprived of his fellowship. Shortly after this event the University was thrown into confusion by 300 students of St. John's appearing in chapel minus their hoods and surplices. Information of this innovation was speedily sent to the Court, and an angry remonstrance was despatched by Cecil. The heads of colleges applied to the Queen for a dispensation, but she would hear no argument, and they had to submit.[1]

The Parliament, too, was suspected of having secret leanings toward the Puritans, and at the commencement of the Session, early in the year 1580, the members voted, 'That as many of them as could conveniently, should on the Sunday fortnight assemble and meet together in the Temple Church; there to have preaching, and to join together in prayer for the assistance of God's Spirit in all their consultations.'

The Queen, however, sent an intimation of her royal mind in the matter, by Sir Charles Hatton, her vice-chamberlain, who spoke her message, as follows:—'She did so much admire at so great a rashness in that House, as to put in execution such an innovation without her privity and pleasure first made known unto them.' Upon which the members voted, 'That the House acknowledge their offence, and humbly crave forgiveness, with a full purpose to forbear committing the like for the future.' As a proof of their sincerity, they subsequently enacted that 'all who do not go to church shall forfeit 20*l.* per month to the Queen, and suffer imprisonment until it is paid.'[2] There

[1] Neil's Puritans. [2] Ibid.

was an additional penalty inflicted upon those who should presume to absent themselves from church for a whole twelvemonth; they were required to find two sureties for good behaviour in future.

Another remedy adopted by the Queen for contumacy was that of disfranchisement. To mend matters, the Divine Right of the Episcopacy was started by Bancroft in 1588, enforced by all the terrors of the Star Chamber. In addition, Archbishop Whitgift introduced a test which he well knew would have the effect of driving many of the Puritan divines out of the Establishment. He caused it to be enacted that no clergyman should be allowed to preach or catechise except he first read the whole service, wearing the appointed habits.

Upwards of 100 ministers in Norfolk and Suffolk, and about half that number in Sussex and Kent, refusing compliance, were suspended. It was in vain they petitioned the Queen; the Archbishop's influence prevailed, and his decision was confirmed. A new ecclesiastical commission was next issued, followed by still more suspensions. Henceforth, to tread in the footsteps of Cartwright was their only alternative, and separation from the Establishment became inevitable.

Among those of the Puritan divines in the diocese of London, who most distinguished themselves at this period, Coleman, Button, Hallingham, Benson, White, Rowland, and Hawkins may be mentioned. One of the most numerous sects of modern Dissenters, known as Independents or Congregationalists, sprang into existence at this period, under the name of Brownists, so called after their leader, a seceding

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clergyman named Brown, in the diocese of Norwich. It is satisfactory to record, that whilst the Court and the Bishops were thus driving the Puritans out of the churches, the houses of many of the nobility received them in the capacity of chaplains and tutors. Others, less fortunate, assembled their scattered flocks in the wilderness or in the woods, to hear the Word of Life; whilst some few were retained as afternoon lecturers, by friendly-disposed incumbents, who at considerable risk to themselves gave them this opportunity.

Such, then, was the state of religion at the close of the long reign of Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory! Of whom we are told, that though very devout with her Prayer-book, she seldom heard a sermon, except during the season of Lent, and, as a rule, discouraged preaching everywhere—considering, as she said, that two or three preachers in a county were, or ought to be, sufficient to satisfy the consciences of her sermon-loving subjects.

King James was thirty-seven years old when he ascended the throne of England. His antecedents had been such as to encourage the Papists, the High Church Episcopalians, and the Puritans, each in their turn, with the hope that on coming to the throne of these realms his proclivities would be declared in their favour. Born of Roman Catholic parents, yet educated as a Protestant, both parties had reasonable expectation of winning him to their side. The Puritans had special grounds to warrant their anticipations, for had not James interceded, though unsuccessfully, with Queen Elizabeth on behalf of Carter, years ago? And had he not offered him a professor-

ship in Scotland? These were considered unmistakable evidences of the new monarch's Puritan tendencies.

Fond of arbitrary power, and strongly imbued with the notion that Kings have a Divine right to reign and rule, it is not a matter of surprise to find King James ultimately choosing that party most favourable to his own views, namely, the high-and-dry Episcopalians. Hence, when met by the Puritans, on his way to London, with their great petition, and at the same time, also, by the agents of the High Church party, despatched by Whitgift, with assurances of devotion, he soon undeceived the former by telling them he would alter nothing unless with the approbation of the Bishops. This celebrated document, known as the Milleniary Petition, from having attached to it the signatures of nearly a thousand clergymen, thus summarily disposed of, as we have seen, by James on this occasion, embraced an immense number of grievances and abuses in the Church. They also prayed for a new translation of the Holy Scriptures, the abolition of baptismal sponsors, Confirmation, and the forms of priestly absolution. The great scandal of non-residence, of double and triple benefices, and the non-contribution of the lay impropriators of church property towards the expenses of the Establishment or the support of its ministers, were also strongly insisted on.

It was not, however, the policy of the King at the present moment to offend the Puritans by a point-blank refusal to entertain their memorial. He therefore decided on calling a conference, in which

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the leading men of both parties were invited to take part, his Majesty himself presiding on the occasion. This was the celebrated Hampton Court Conference, which was held at that palace shortly after his Majesty's accession, and which gave us the translation of the Bible as at present in use: this almost solitary substantial result of that gathering was not accomplished until 1611, eight years later. Forty-seven of the most learned divines and others were thus engaged in the task.

An amusing and graphic picture of James, in his capacity of President of the Conference, has been preserved. His overbearing tone and manner must early have disheartened the Puritans, and led them to the conclusion that their chance was small indeed of obtaining anything from the monarch by way of concession.

At the first sitting, their leader and spokesman, the celebrated Dr. Reynolds, commenced by pleading the Puritan grievances *seriatim*. James listened, we are told, very impatiently, to all the doctor had to say, and at the conclusion of his address, the King said, 'Well, Dr. Reynolds, have you anything else to offer?' 'No more of it, please your Majesty,' replied Reynolds. 'Then, if this be all your party have to say,' said the King, 'I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the kingdom, or *worse*.'

Bancroft, Bishop of London, was so elated at the King's brilliant rejoinder, that he fell upon his knees, exclaiming, 'I protest my heart melteth for joy that the Almighty God of his singular mercy hath given us such a king, as since Christ's time has not been!'

The threat to 'harry out of the kingdom, *or worse*,' the poor Puritans meanwhile was not forgotten by either party; and well would it have been for the family of the monarch, in the years to come, if the former of those two alternatives, and not the latter, had been the one chosen.

Not more successful were the Roman Catholics, in their efforts to obtain some degree of toleration and protection from the ruling ecclesiastical party in the State. Their failure led, as is well known, in the year following to the diabolical treason known as the Gunpowder Plot.

In one respect the King was benefited by the conspiracy, for it produced such a reaction in his favour, that large subsidies from the Parliament and clergy were the immediate results; but a persistence in the profligate expenditure of the Court soon reduced his coffers to their former exhausted condition, to replenish which he devised a system of monopolies, which extended to the sale of various articles of merchandise. All, however, failed to satisfy his requirements, so that at length he was obliged to have recourse to Parliament,—a course galling to his pride, for he had determined never to call another.

In the Parliament which met in 1610, it was said, in the course of the debate on the King's extravagance, that 'silver and gold were as plentiful in Edinburgh as stones in the streets,'—a remark which gave great offence to the King, the truth being made too palpable to the nation at large as to where their money had been despatched. He accordingly sent for the two Houses, telling them his dis-

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pleasure, and requiring them to proceed at once with the subsidy for which he had called them together; and concluded by saying, that although he did not intend to govern by absolute power, yet he knew that the power of kings was like the Divine power. As God can create and destroy, make and unmake, at His pleasure; so kings can give life and death, judge all, and be judged by none. They can exalt and abase, and, like men at chess, make a pawn, a bishop, or a knight.[1] The royal game of chess, fortunately, has, for kings as well as for subjects, sometimes an unexpected checkmate, as the sequel in the succeeding reign too plainly showed.

Meanwhile the Parliament granted him a small subsidy, with which the King for the present was obliged to be contented. The Puritans, however, who were bitterly hated by James, still persisted to provoke him by outward acts of nonconformity; and at last, to compel them into obedience, he issued a royal commission with power to examine all who refused to obey the Act of Uniformity. This step excited great alarm throughout the kingdom, for, by its inquisitorial character, it became personally obnoxious to nearly every individual.

Curiously enough, the precedent for the Act of Uniformity (for James was always fond of precedents, when they suited his purpose) dates back to the reign of Henry VIII., when Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, under the title of Vice-General, was at the head of the commission. During the reign of Elizabeth its authority had been exercised with great

[1] Neil's Puritans.

mildness, but James was ever unfortunate in the choice of his instruments; and in the selection of his chief dignitaries for places of authority, he chose men whose zeal for Episcopacy far exceeded all reasonable bounds of prudence and discretion; the consequences of which were grievous not only to the Nonconformists but to the nation at large, driving the former in large numbers to seek an asylum in a foreign land, and the latter ultimately into open and successful rebellion.

In the midst of these enactments, the Court was greatly alarmed by the news which came from France of the assassination of Henry IV. by the fanatic Jesuit, Ravaillac. James, who had latterly become somewhat more tolerant towards the Roman Catholics, now forbade all of that profession to come within ten miles of the Court, under terrible penalties.

It would be an almost endless task to recount the various schemes and contrivances of the King to replenish his continually-recurring empty purse. One of the most novel, though possibly not the most successful of these, was the creation of titles of dignity; that of a baronet, for instance, which involved on the part of those selected for this distinction an outlay of 2,000*l.*, besides having to provide at the rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* a day each man, for thirty foot-soldiers for three years to serve in Ireland. Ready cash, however, being a pressing want, a liberal reduction was made to those who could pay in advance. Sir Nicholas Bacon, the father of the great philosopher and statesman, was the first baronet.

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Other schemes, more onerous because compulsory, were devised. Monopolies were granted, and obsolete laws were revived, one of which compelled the owner of a freehold worth 40*l.* a-year to take the degree of knighthood, or, failing to do so, to compound for the same. The elevation to the dignity of a baron, a viscount, or an earl, was accompanied by a corresponding pecuniary liability—that of a viscount costing 15,000*l.*, an earl 20,000*l.*, and a baron 10,000*l.* Defective titles were also to yield a good round sum in order to become secure.

Notwithstanding all these expedients, James still found himself as poor as ever, and ultimately obliged to have recourse to Parliament for additional supplies, to meet an expenditure he was both unable and unwilling to control. Thus, we see, that great lever, the power of the purse—the great Magna Charta of Englishmen's rights, the only safeguard under the Stuart dynasty—was already beginning to make itself acknowledged and felt.

Parliament no sooner met than it was peremptorily required to enter upon, before all other topics and grievances, the subject of the King's pecuniary necessities, and the way to meet them. A large subsidy was demanded, accompanied by the assurance that leave to ventilate their grievances should, on the royal word, be given after the subsidy had been voted. Past experience, however, had taught the members a different lesson. They had strong presumptive evidence, judging from previous events, that their sittings would be short indeed, if, after they had complied, they presumed to debate on

subjects obnoxious to the Court. So, instead of first discussing the subsidy, they reversed the King's order, and proceeded to enquire and examine into the causes which had led to the present financial embarrassments. It was soon discovered that the crown revenues had been squandered in grants of land among the Scotch, whose avidity for ready cash led them to dispose as quickly as possible of these grants, carrying off the proceeds beyond all chance of recovery to their own needy country, a discovery which greatly exasperated the Commons. But whilst they were busy making other unpleasant disclosures, the King, whose indignation and impatience could no longer be controlled, broke in upon their deliberations, and hastily put a stop to them by an abrupt dismissal of the House.

Nor was the King more happy or successful in the domestic circle than in political affairs. His eldest daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, married the unfortunate Elector-Palatine—a match which was thought by the monarch to have been in every respect most desirable, but which ultimately proved to be one of great disappointment and misfortune. Beset early by poverty of the severest kind, with a large family of young children, yet driven away by foreign invasions from his own paternal dominions, the Elector lived a life of penury and neglect; whilst his brave and noble-hearted wife, by her firmness, constancy, and heroism, never despaired or forsook his side, but bravely buffeted with her adverse fate through long years of suffering and poverty.

The year which succeeded this unfortunate mar-

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riage was signalised by another misfortune to the royal family, and one which the nation at large had reason to deplore. The eldest son of the monarch, the Prince of Wales, a youth in his eighteenth year, of great promise and of a most amiable disposition, fitted in every way to adorn his high position, was removed by death from the family circle. By this event, the second son, who subsequently ascended the throne as Charles I., became heir-apparent.

Passing from James and his domestic troubles to other events occurring about the period we have now arrived at, (namely 1616,) a striking instance of retributive justice was that afforded in the case of Sir Walter Raleigh. Released from the Tower after twelve years' imprisonment, the consequences of an illegal sentence by Chief Justice Coke, he obtained his liberty just in time to witness the disgrace of that judge—to see him deprived of his office, and on his knees at the Council-table, suing for pardon for having threatened Lord Chancellor Egerton with a Star Chamber prosecution. The King, who had bided his time, well knew how to revenge himself for the stinging remark the Chief Justice had indulged in some months previously, when he said in open court that his Majesty 'was labouring to overthrow the common law of England.'

The disgrace of Overbury's murderer, the Earl of Somerset, occurred about the same period. A new favourite had been found in the person of George Villiers, whose handsome face attracted his Majesty's attention whilst witnessing a play called 'The Ignoramus,' during a visit he paid to Cambridge. The

chief excellence of this production in the eyes of the monarch, was that it turned into ridicule the common law of England, a law he was particularly anxious to ignore, it being contrary and antagonistic to that doctrine his Majesty held most sacred—the Divine Right of Kings.

Sir Francis Bacon was now rapidly rising into favour, having just been appointed Lord Keeper; Laud, another rising man, had been made Archdeacon of Huntingdon, in Oliver Cromwell's neighbourhood. Raleigh, Villiers, Bacon, and Laud, are names sadly suggestive of the mutability of worldly honour and distinction. In a few brief years all except one had encountered a violent death. Raleigh, to the eternal disgrace of King James, was beheaded on Tower Hill; Villiers fell a victim to the dagger of the assassin; Laud, in the next reign, suffered a violent death at the executioner's hands; whilst Lord Bacon survived his own great reputation as a statesman and philosopher, to live condemned—a poor, disgraced, and utterly ruined, characterless old man. It is satisfactory, however, to find one among the great men who flourished in this reign, whose name may be mentioned in the light of a public benefactor. It was during this year that Sir Hugh Myddelton, the wealthy London goldsmith, achieved his great engineering triumph, by bringing two streams of pure water a distance of sixty miles, into the neighbourhood of London. The New River scheme, begun in 1608, was this year completed: thus affording another proof, if such were wanted, of the lasting benefits to posterity resulting from successful trade, when nobly applied as in this instance.

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Oliver Cromwell had just completed his seventeenth year when he was admitted a fellow-commoner of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. His father sent him, says Heath, in his 'Flagellum,' 'more to satisfy his own ambition than from any hope of completing him in his studies, which never reached to any good knowledge in the Latin tongue.' This was simply an untruth, as regards the latter assertion, for Cromwell had, as subsequent events proved, a very good knowledge of Latin. The same authority adds, that 'Oliver was more famous for his exercises in the field than in the schools, being a great player at football and cudgells.'

The day on which his name first appears in the college books was somewhat remarkable in reference to another great name in English history. It was on April 23, 1616, that William Shakespeare died. On the banks of the Avon, whose waters flow towards the setting sun, the mightiest poet in the realms of fancy passed away into the unseen world; whilst eastward, on the banks of the Cam, the same day saw another of the earth's great ones in the world of fact, just setting out—to be—to do—to suffer! And whose dying words in forty years to come were uttered, 'My business here is to make haste, and begone.'

Trifling as such coincidences may appear to many, they yet may teach us,

> There's a divinity which shapes our ends,
> Rough hew them as we will.

A great modern writer, reflecting on this coincidence, remarks: 'The first world-great thing that

remains of English history, the literature of Shakespeare, was ending; the second world-great thing that remains of English history, the armed appeal of Puritanism to the Invisible God of Heaven, against many invisible devils on earth and elsewhere, was, so to speak, beginning. They have their exits and their entrances. And one people in its time plays many parts.'[1]

When Shakespeare came into the world, Thomas Cromwell had been in his grave some quarter of a century. At the poet's death, Thomas Cromwell's great-nephew, four generations later, had reached his seventeenth year. Meanwhile, during that interval of seventy-six years, the Tudor line of kings had vanished, to give place to the unfortunate dynasty of the Stuarts. The Reformation had accomplished its destiny, and the national religion had become Protestant. The art of printing by moveable types had become a commercial success. Trade, too, had received its first great emancipation in the charter granted by Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company, thus opening up the vast territory of our Eastern possessions to the enterprise of the West. Science also achieved some of her greatest triumphs in the discoveries of Copernicus, Tycho Brahé, Kepler, and Galileo, through whose genius astronomy became a *positive* science.

A glance at some of Oliver's contemporaries at this period may not be uninteresting. Milton, a fair-haired little boy, in his eighth year, was residing with his parents in Bread Street, Cheapside. We may

[1] Carlyle.

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picture him in his daily walks along the great thoroughfare, on his way to the neighbouring school of St. Paul's, looking at the quaint old shop-windows projecting into the street, with their creaking sign-boards swinging overhead, whereon rude emblems of the trade within might be seen. Not far from Shakespeare's Stratford-on-Avon, in the same county, at Coleshill, lived another boy-poet, Waller. Two years older than Milton, Waller was in his eleventh year when Shakespeare died. Ben Jonson, now in the height of his fame, we find busily superintending the masks and revels so popular at the houses of the nobility and the wealthy in those days. A year or two later he was appointed Poet Laureate, and soon after became a court favourite, with a salary of one hundred marks. The pipe of canary had not been added, nor was it until the next reign that this addition to the stipend of the state-poet took place. Sir Walter Raleigh, now released from prison, was busy planning fresh schemes of foreign discovery, the better to retrieve his broken fortunes, which, alas! he was never destined to accomplish.

Bacon, the Attorney-General, now in his fifty-fourth year, had just succeeded in convicting the guilty parties of Overbury's murder, at the same time bringing disgrace and ruin on the court favourites, Lord and Lady Somerset, through whose machinations it had been perpetrated.

It was in this year that the great lawyer Coke fell from his high position as Lord Chief Justice, having incurred the displeasure of the King by his noble and courageous defence of the common law of England.

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A case had come before him, wherein the King considered his prerogative attacked; he therefore called upon Coke to stay proceedings. The Chief Justice refused compliance, and the case proceeded. Enraged beyond measure, the royal ruler summoned all the Judges into his presence. At the Council-table Coke alone stood, whilst the eleven Judges, who previously had acquiesced in Coke's decision, fell upon their knees, acknowledged they were in error, and implored pardon. The King then propounded a case to them, demanding to know whether they ought not to stay proceedings until his royal pleasure were known, if *he* considered his prerogative called in question. The eleven Judges answered in the affirmative; but Coke's reply was:—'When the case happens, I will do that which becomes an honest and able judge.' Four days later Coke received the King's reprimand, and at the same time was sequestered from his duties and attendance at the Council-table.

Then there were others who figure in the future more or less conspicuously. Among these may be mentioned Laud and Hall. The former had just been promoted to the deanery of Gloucester, and the latter to that of Worcester. Prince Charles was now in the sixteenth year of his age, his able but unfortunate minister Stratford but twenty-three. Pym and Hampden, Oliver Cromwell's kinsmen, had reached the mature age, respectively, of forty-two and thirty-two.

From noticeable men, let us proceed to take a brief survey of England, her customs, manners, and habits,

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at this period. The population, for the most part, were employed in agricultural pursuits, and resided chiefly in villages or hamlets. The old feudal system was still in full vigour, the tenure of land being by suit and service to the lord or owner of the soil; division of labour there was scarcely any, and what little existed, was not understood in the modern commercial sense of that term. The dwellings of the labouring poor were chiefly one-storied wooden or mud erections; glass, however, was now generally being substituted for horn in the windows, and wooden floors were superseding the bare mud or rush in former use. The houses of the more substantial classes, some of which have survived to our own day, were solid, durable, massive buildings of many gables, composed outside of wood and plaster; many such may still be seen scattered here and there, in cathedral towns and old-fashioned country places.

Some curious contrasts in reference to food, wages, and dress, in this and the preceding reigns, may not be uninteresting. Wages and its equivalents presented, of course, a fluctuating but constantly increasing ratio. Thus, for instance, in the reign of Edward III., haymakers and harvestmen worked for a penny a day; this was the price fixed by Act of Parliament; carpenters' wages were threepence. The price of food, however, bore a relative proportion; a fat ox cost from 50*s*. to 60*s*., wheat was a shilling a bushel, and sheep could be bought for five or six shillings each. And these prices, be it remembered, were high in comparison to those ruling fifty years earlier, when it was enacted that an ox 'fed with grasse schould be

sold for xvi. shillings, a fat oxe for xxivs., a fat cow xiis., a goode swyn to three years old for xl. pence; a schipe with wolle xx*d.*, a fatte goos ii*d.*, a capon ii*d.*, a henne iv*d.*, doves i*d.*; and if any man sold any other pris the retail, to forfeit to the Kyng.' Later by two centuries, in the reign of Henry VIII., the price of beef and pork was fixed at a halfpenny the pound, and veal at three farthings.

A considerable rise, meanwhile, had occurred by the time James I. came to the throne. Wages, however, kept pace with provisions, and harvestmen, who could obtain but fourpence a day in 1568, were in receipt of sixpence by the year 1632. Ale and beer, as fixed by Act of Parliament in the first year of James I., was sold at one penny the quart for the former, and one halfpenny for the latter, whilst three pints of new milk could be had for one halfpenny. On the other hand, articles of foreign growth were enormously dear, a pound of pepper costing eight shillings. The breakfast-table of that period must have presented a striking contrast to that of our own times; tea and coffee had not yet been introduced, and bread was chiefly made from barley without yeast.

The following is a description of a nobleman's breakfast in the days of the Plantagenets:—'Breakfast for an Earl and his Countess during Lent, a loaf of bread in trenches; two manchetts (small loaves weighing about six ounces each, made of the finest flour), a quart of beer, a quart of wine; two pieces of salt-fish; six dried herrings or a dish of sprats.' At other periods, however, the fare was improved. On 'flesh days' there was no fish, but half a chine of

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mutton or beef. The two meals daily, introduced at the time of the Norman Conquest, had multiplied into four during the fifteenth century; and these were taken at somewhat early hours, for it was customary to breakfast at six, dine at ten, sup at four, and the concluding meal, called 'livery,' was taken just before going to bed, or between eight and nine o'clock.

As before mentioned, neither tea nor coffee had yet appeared at the breakfast-table. Nor had potatoes or tobacco been introduced, or, if consumed by the few, it was more with the object of satisfying the curiosity than the appetite. Coffee is mentioned as having been drunk for the first time in this country in the year 1641, by a foreigner of Balliol College, Oxford, who introduced this innovation. The first coffeehouse in England is said to have been opened at Oxford, by a Jew named Jacobs, in 1650. That amusing author, Samuel Pepys, records with customary minuteness his first cup of tea on September 25, 1660.

It is remarkable the length of time it took to popularise many of the commodities which now contribute to the comfort and happiness of mankind, as compared with modern innovations—the use of railway locomotion, for instance. Coal was known to the ancient Britons, yet it took centuries to bring it into general consumption. So detrimental to health was a coal-fire considered, that it was not until the beginning of the fifteenth century that the metropolis began to think otherwise, nor was its consumption by any means general throughout the country until the reign of Charles I. A century elapsed before coffee became a

national beverage, and tea was so little understood that it long continued to be sold in the liquid state by the gallon.

The potato did not come into general use until thirty years after its introduction into this county by Sir John Hawkins, in 1563; Sir Walter Raleigh, who brought this esculent from South America, being the first to cultivate it successfully, which he did on his estate in the South of Ireland. Was it owing to this circumstance, or to the peculiar adaptation of the soil, that the potato has continued until lately the staple food of the population of that country? Nor ought we to omit mentioning the introduction of tobacco, about the same time as the potato, by this enterprising navigator.

For the first few years this article continued to be manufactured in this country solely for the purpose of exportation; but as its soothing and other useful properties, when used in moderation, became known, the consumption gradually increased, in spite of governmental proclamations and fiscal restrictions. With the view to check the demand, a duty of 6*s.* 10*d.* per pound was imposed by the Star Chamber in 1614, and at the present time the duty on the commonest kind is 3*s.*, whereas the price to the public is but a few pence in excess of the duty: in other words, 4*d.* covers the cost, remunerates the grower, the carrier from a distant clime, and the dealer; whilst the Government have made this article, which is consumed by the million, yield a tax of 3*s.* on every pound consumed.

The cultivation of the tobacco-plant was forbidden in England in 1684, and this prohibition has continued

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down to the present day, although it is well known that in some situations a most profitable crop would reward the cultivator, especially in the South of Ireland, where the soil and climate are well adapted for this purpose. The sole argument in favour of this restriction is a purely fiscal one, and it reflects unfavourably on the wisdom of financial economists that they have never yet succeeded in devising a plan which would at the same time protect the revenue, and set the husbandman at liberty to grow whatever will yield him a successful remuneration for his labour.

In the matter of costume, great changes have of course taken place since the era of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. When James ascended the throne, it is noticeable that the fashions which had been prevalent during the early years of Elizabeth came again into vogue. Ladies of rank returned to the use of the monstrous farthingale and the stand-up ruff stiffened by wire; the latter, it was sarcastically said, had been introduced by a Spanish lady to hide a wen. Bibs and georgets, caps and bonnets, also came into fashion once more. Silk dresses, among the wealthy classes, were now becoming general; gold chains and bracelets were also worn, and the French hood made its appearance. A rich widow is described coming into her kitchen in a 'fair train-gown stuck full of silver pins; a white cap on her head, with cuts of various needlework under the same; and an apron as white as driven snow.'

The costume of the gentlemen was remarkable for an extraordinary development in the nether garments. The court-dress of a nobleman included *stays*; bands were first introduced in this reign, but perukes had

not yet made their appearance; hats, not however of our modern shape, came in during the reign of Henry VII.; expensive gaiters were worn, and shoe-roses also became general. The merchant of that day is described as wearing 'a plain grave suit' with a black cloak, and the young gentleman was distinguished by his 'suit of good apparel,' cloak, and rapier.

A 'spruce master-tailor' is mentioned as appearing in a new russet jerkin and a tall sugarloaf hat, clapped on one side of his head.' Towards the latter part of this reign, says the same authority,[1] 'men of mean rank wore gaiters and shoe-roses costing more than 5*l.* per pair.' In the preceding reign, 5*s.* or 6*s.* sufficed to procure the more humble kind then in use. Those queer-looking unmentionables, supposed to be now extinct, so universally used a generation or two ago, the modern breeches, did not appear till the year 1654. Trunk-hose were worn by every gentleman of rank in the days of James I. They became at length so enormously large behind, that an Act of Parliament passed against their use; and in an old Harleian MSS. at the British Museum, we read that in the forty-third year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, certain holes were made in the wall at the back of the members' seats in the Houses of Parliament, 'for those to set who wore great breeches.' These monstrosities were usually stuffed with hair, and there is an old song entitled, 'A lamentable complaint of the poore countriemen agaynst great hose, for the loss of their cattell's tails,' in which the following stanza occurs:

[1] Strutt's Manners and Customs.

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But haire hath so possessed of late,
The bryche of every knave,
That not one beast nor horse can tell,
Whiche way his tail to save.

It is related of a man who was taken before the magistrates for wearing a pair of these trunk-hose of unlawful dimensions, that, for his excuse, he emptied the contents of his capacious pockets, and drew forth a pair of sheets, two tablecloths, ten dinner napkins, four shirts, a brush, comb, nightcap, and a looking-glass, beside other things, saying, 'Your worship may understand that this is because I have no safer storehouse to put them in.' The reasonableness of the excuse was considered conclusive, and the man was accordingly discharged.

Mining operations, at the period we are now dwelling upon, were of course on a very limited scale, lead and tin mines being the most considerable. Iron was chiefly imported from abroad; the continued influx of silver and gold had, however, at length begun to enhance the value of most commodities. Up to the year 1530, no appreciable effect had been felt; but the lapse of another century produced a remarkable change in this respect, for in the year 1630 it was reckoned that prices had nearly doubled, and 200*l.* sterling would go no further in purchasing food than 100*l.* did at the former period. Of home-manufactured articles there were but few, coarse pottery and glass being the principal. The stocking-machine had not yet made any progress, and the stockings in use were chiefly of cloth. Silk stockings, Stow tells us, were first worn by Queen Elizabeth. These were presented to her Majesty as a new-year's gift,

when she was so well pleased with them that she sent to enquire where they came from. 'I made them myself,' replied the woman-in-waiting; and she added, 'Seeing they please you so well, I will presently set more in hand.' 'Do so,' said the Queen, 'for I like silk stockings so well that I will not henceforth wear any more cloth hose.'

Nearly down to the close of Elizabeth's reign, London presented externally but little change. The houses for the most part were built of wood, with clumsy overhanging gables nearly meeting those on the opposite side of the narrow streets; the gutters ran down the middle of the road; footways there were none. A few years before her death, an Act passed to forbid the erection of any more houses exclusively of wood; most of the principal thoroughfares had, however, been paved. The streets on a dark night must have presented a gloomy appearance, for there were no lights used in the shop-windows, and but a stray tallow-candle or two might be seen in the interior; horn lanterns were in general use, and boys with links or torches obtained a few pence by running before the carriages. Oil lamps here and there might be met with, suspended across some of the leading thoroughfares, but this method of lighting the streets did not become general until a much later period. Hackney-coaches there were none; the first appearance of these in the London streets dates from 1625.

The population of England and Wales at this period has been generally estimated at 5,000,000; but no authentic records are to be met with on this point, except during the reign of Henry VIII., when it stood

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at rather more than 4,500,000 ; and also 200 years later, in the reign of William III., when it was estimated at 5,290,000; these calculations, however, must be considered only as approximations. If the population was not great, neither were the taxes, for the total of the revenue raised amounted to little more than half a million sterling. Expenditure, however, is proverbially more lavish when in the hands of a public body than when confined to a single individual; hence the gradual growth of taxation, in proportion as the House of Commons advanced in power and influence.

But if the national revenue during the first quarter of the seventeenth century was small, so also, be it remembered, were the demands upon it. There was then no national debt or standing army. For the former we are indebted to William III., and the latter to the extinction of feudal tenures. The obnoxious law of purveyance was still in force, which enabled the royal family to travel from one end of the country to the other at almost free cost ; horses, carriages, and provisions, when not voluntarily supplied, were forcibly taken possession of by the purveyors employed during the journey, and the farmers were obliged to submit to whatever remuneration it was thought proper to give—not in hard cash, however, but in tallies on the exchequer, often found worthless when presented for payment, by reason of the bankrupt condition of that department.

There were no regular posts before 1631, when a 'running post' was established between Edinburgh and London, 'to go thither and back in six days.' A century later, even letters were transmitted

between the metropolis and the North three times a week only; and it is related that on one occasion, but a single letter was found in the mail-bag.

As yet there were no banks, and the London merchants kept their spare cash at the Mint, until Charles I., wanting a supply for the civil war, seized all the money, and the credit of the Mint as a safe depository was destroyed. After this, the merchants resorted to the Lombard Street goldsmiths, and this system continued until banking became a separate trade.

To this brief account of our ancestors, may be mentioned their amusements, which consisted of various games not now in vogue, such as quarter-staff, pitching the bar, throwing the spear, wrestling, running races, bowls, bull-baiting, and cockfighting. Field-sports were then, as now, chiefly confined to the wealthy upper classes. Market and fair days were occasions of great gatherings among the country people.

Oliver Cromwell remained a very brief period at Sidney Sussex College. He entered on April 16, 1617, and left the June following, in consequence of the death of his father.

Mrs. Robert Cromwell had for the second time become a widow, and a few months later she yet suffered the further misfortune of losing her father, thus being deprived by death of the two most dear to whom she could apply for council and advice; her only pecuniary support being the profits arising from the brewery, and a scanty income to meet the

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requirements of a family of six daughters and an only son (Oliver), in his eighteenth year.

It was a misfortune for Oliver thus to find himself at an early age his own master; the consequences were soon evident, and the result proved the importance of wholesome parental restraint at that period of life. Left, comparatively speaking, uncontrolled to follow his own inclinations, these soon displayed themselves in a course of thoughtless extravagance, which at length so alarmed his mother as to induce her to send him from home, in order to study law at one of the Inns of Court. Lincoln's Inn is the one said to have been selected, but of this there are no proofs. Heath asserts that such was the case; if it were so, it is strange that no record of this event is to be found in the books of that learned society. It has been suggested that some Bencher, in order to preserve the reputation of the Inn, erased his name.

'It is good luck for that honourable society,' says Heath, 'that Oliver hath so small and innocent a memorial of his membership therein.' If any choice had been exercised by his mother, Gray's Inn would naturally have had the preference, for it was there that Cromwell, Earl of Essex, had been a member; Oliver's own son, Henry, six-and-thirty years later, also belonged to the same Inn.

Scarcely a reliable trace exists of Oliver, however, at this period. There is every reason to fear that his extravagant dissipation exceeded all former limits, a love of gambling being added to his other vices. After a residence in town of a few months, he

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appears to have given up the study of the law; and, his debts increasing, he withdrew to his native town, once more to renew his former friendships, so dreaded by his mother, and to continue his vicious courses, wasting the parental estate, says Heath, in his debaucheries; 'tippling, running up a score, and quarrelling, so that few durst keep him company.' His chief weapon was the quarter-staff, and few could contend with him in the skill with which he used it about the heads of the tinkers and pedlars, his companions at the public-houses he frequented. On these occasions he was the terror of all the ale-wives in Huntingdon and the neighbourhood, who, when they saw him coming, would cry out, 'Here comes young Cromwell; shut up your doors!'

In these mad freaks, continues the authority already quoted, 'No women could meet him on the highway without being attacked; and, when complaints were made, he vindicated his violence and the heat of his blood by letting out some of theirs.'

CHAPTER III.

The King goes to Scotland—Laud's Efforts there to establish Episcopacy —The Lancashire Petition for Sunday Sports—Publication of the 'Book of Sports'—Archbishop Abbot forbids it at Croydon—London the Stronghold of the Puritans—The King and the Lord Mayor—Blind Infatuation of James—The Spanish Match—Calamities of the next Reign to be ascribed to James—Sir Walter Raleigh sacrificed to his Spanish Enemies—His Execution—The Synod of Dort—Arminian Tendencies of the King—His Love of Sacerdotal Pomp—Advent of Laud to Power—Puritan Opposition—Poverty of the Exchequer, and the King's Method of replenishing it—Death of the Queen—The Princess Elizabeth—The Danish Royal Family—The Elector Palatine —Great Change in Oliver Cromwell's Conduct—The 'Town Cross'— 'Calvinistic Christianity'—Cromwell's own Account of Himself—His Marriage—Milton's last Resting-place—Cromwell's Sisters and their Home at Huntingdon—Oliver's Uncles and Aunts—Mrs. Oliver Cromwell—The King in Financial Troubles again—Monopolies—Corruption in High Places—Lord Bacon and others proved to have taken Bribes —King James and the Cheesemonger—The King on Privilege and Royal Prerogative—The Protest of the Commons, and the Anger of the King thereat—Death of James I.—Melancholy Picture of England during his Reign—Growth of Ritualism under Laud's Ascendency— Appearance of the State Puritans—Birth of Cromwell's Son Richard— Letter of Cromwell to Downhall—Mr. Downhall's subsequent History.

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HAVING, as he thought, conquered the Puritans, James next undertook to subdue the unruly wills and affections of his Scotch subjects, who, in their attachment to Presbyterianism, had nearly rooted out what little of Episcopacy had ever existed in that country. Before setting out for Edinburgh, he issued a proclamation, informing them that in coming it was not with the intention of altering civil or ecclesiastical matters, but to reform certain abuses 'in the Church and Commonwealth.' England, be it remembered, was at this time swarming with Papists; well aware of

this, and of the King's countenance of that religion, the Scots were prepared to watch with suspicion the first steps in the reformation so gratuitously undertaken. Nor were they long kept in suspense; no sooner had the royal household arrived than the latter commenced decorating the Chapel Royal with pictures and statues, after the approved model of Whitehall; but the cry quickly ran through the city, 'Images are being introduced, and the Mass will quickly follow.' At this Dr. Laud, who accompanied his Majesty, exclaimed, 'They have no religion at all an' please your Majesty.' After much trouble and delay, the consent of the General Assembly was obtained to the four following articles: first, Holy Communion to be administered to persons *kneeling*; secondly, the Eucharist was not to be denied to the sick, provided three or four others joined in the ceremony; thirdly, Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday were to be observed especially as holy days, and preachers to make choice of suitable texts; and lastly, the rite of Confirmation was to be introduced in a modified form.

What between Presbyterianism in Scotland and Puritanism in England, the King encountered continual vexations; whatever, therefore, ran counter to these two obstructions to his policy was hailed with satisfaction. It was with secret pleasure he received on his way home, in the Roman Catholic county of Lancashire, a numerously-signed petition from the inhabitants, complaining that they were now no longer permitted to indulge in amusements as formerly, after Divine Service on Sundays; that quarter-staff, dancing, and church ales had been put a stop to, and praying

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that these 'good old customs of their forefathers' might once more be permitted, which the Puritans in authority had hitherto interfered with. His Majesty received the deputation most graciously, promising to look into the matter, which he did shortly after, and the issue of this enquiry resulted in the publication of 'The Book of Sports.' This celebrated production authorised the Bishops to enforce and constrain 'all Puritans and Precisians to conform thereto or quit the country.' 'Our pleasure is,' continues its royal author, 'that after the end of Divine Service our good people be not disturbed from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, or any other harmless recreation, nor from having of May-games, Whitsun-ales, and Morris-dances, and the setting-up of Maypoles and other sports. But, withal, we do here account still as prohibited, bearbaiting, interludes, and bowling.'

This 'Book of Sports' was ordered to be read in all the churches of the kingdom; but, to the credit of the Church of England, there were not wanting some among her bishops and many of her clergy who refused this latter injunction.

Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who happened to be at Croydon Church on the Sunday it was ordered to be read, 'flatly forbad the minister to read it.' London had long been the stronghold of the Puritans, and the Lord Mayor ably seconded the opposition of the citizens to Sunday desecrations on one occasion, in a bold and unexpected step, which brought upon the city the hostility of the Court. This was no other than causing the King's carriages to be stopped as

they were passing through the streets one Sunday afternoon. When the King heard of it, we are told that he went into a great rage, swearing, 'he thought there had been no more kings in England but himself.'

The blind infatuation of James, regardless of the prejudices of his subjects against Roman Catholic alliances, next showed itself in the Spanish match. And here it may be remarked, that there is no error more prevalent than that which ascribes all the calamities which befell this country in the next reign solely to the monarch who then sat upon the throne. To the careful student of history, who impartially endeavours to trace the origin of national misfortunes, there is clear evidence that blind, bigoted, and perverse as was the unfortunate Charles I., he but fostered the evil which had been planted in his father's lifetime. Those acts, already recounted, as also those which have yet to be mentioned, point with unerring certainty to the inevitable conclusion, that in every way it was possible for a monarch to throw away the affections of his people, by a series of gross political, commercial, and religious blunders, James pursued a consistent course until the day of his death—bequeathing to his son the penalties which unerring wisdom has declared that 'the sins of the father shall be visited upon the children unto the third and fourth generation.' But to this match there were certain preliminary conditions demanded by the Spanish Court before matrimonial negotiations could be commenced. A great man was to be sacrificed to the hatred of that nation for his interference with their foreign possessions. Sir Walter Raleigh was the unfortunate victim; his crime

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was the attack he had recently made on the Spanish island of St. Thomas. Failing to discover the El Dorado he promised the King, he had returned empty-handed. Unfortunately for himself, however, he determined to make up for failure in gold discovery by foreign conquest; hence the attack complained of. His ruin being determined on, the pretext was resorted to that he had never been forgiven the crime for which, fourteen years before, he had been found guilty. He was therefore brought to trial again, and the sentence then given against him was now held to be valid.

Sir Walter was led to execution on Tower Hill, October 29, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. Before going to the scaffold he requested permission to warm himself at the fire, in order, he said, that he might not, by shivering, being afflicted with ague, betray any reluctance to meet death—a request which was granted him. 'This is a sharp medicine,' he said to the executioner, pointing to the axe, 'but it is a physician that will cure all diseases.' Thus, to the everlasting disgrace of the King, perished one of the most remarkable characters of an age celebrated for its eminent men.

It was toward the close of this memorable year (1618), that the celebrated Protestant Synod of Dort took place, at which deputies from all the Reformed Churches of Europe were present, in order to decide upon and settle the difference between the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, and Arminius. To attend this assembly, James was happy in his selection of four divines of moderate views—Hall, the Dean of Worcester, who was subsequently promoted to a

bishopric, being one. The result was fatal to the doctrines of Arminius, which were condemned—a measure without significance to every country represented, Holland excepted, whose Arminian ministers were expelled. The result of this great Congress affords another proof, if such were wanting, of the utter futility of trying to settle mere matters of faith by controversy. In this country religious discussions had hitherto been confined to matters affecting the discipline, the forms, and the ceremonies of the Church of England; henceforth the controversy was to become abstract, doctrinal, and speculative. Strongly imbued with the doctrines of Arminius, James favoured only those who advocated them, and discouraged all others, so that the decision of the Dort Synod was productive of no good effect in England. That love of sacerdotal pomp and ceremony which the King thought it necessary to encourage —because, as Head of the Church, it tended to reflect its glory upon himself—found no flatterers or followers among the great Puritan party, who held, in common with the early Reformers, the tenets of Calvin.

The advent of Laud to power, which commenced shortly after this, induced many of the pious clergy, distinguished for their attachment to the old Calvinistic doctrines, to unite together in opposition to the Laudean-Arminian High-Church party. These became known under the denomination of Doctrinal Puritans. Controversy had meanwhile become so offensive to the Court, that, in order to put a stop to it, James forbad the clergy to allude to such subjects from the pulpit: this not proving effectual, an order

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was issued suppressing the afternoon Sunday service altogether, and substituting the Church Catechism in its place.

There were, however, other considerations more pressing upon the King than ecclesiastical divisions. The daily increasing deficiency in the public exchequer exacted the most scrutinising expedients to deliver it from a state of chronic collapse. Parliamentary subsidies were no longer to be thought of: benevolences had failed to bring any satisfactory relief; some new method must be tried, or things would soon come to a deadlock. The bright idea struck James one day, when he was out hunting, to raise a revenue by the sale of official posts. Fines on appointment to situations were to be fixed, and, in cases of inability to pay at once, future salaries were mulcted as an equivalent. Sir Francis Bacon being made Lord Chancellor this year, a portion of his official salary was thus appropriated. Heath, the Attorney-General, likewise submitted to the same rule. Others, better able to meet the outlay, preferred paying a sum down to have done with it, as was the case with the Bishop of Sarum, who paid 3,500*l.* for his appointment. There was a Book of Rates, in which might be seen the amount of fines and pensions payable on appointment to all bishoprics, deaneries, and public offices in England.

In the midst of these schemes and contrivances, the King's domestic circle received a severe shock in the loss of the Queen, who died in March 1619, in her forty-sixth year. By the issue of this marriage with Anne of Denmark, the royal house of Denmark became

intimately connected with the reigning family of England in the Princess Elizabeth, who had lately married Frederic, the Elector Palatine; and their child, the Princess Sophia, lived to become the wife of the Elector of Hanover, and the mother of George I. of England.

There are two other memorable instances wherein this country became closely connected with the Danish people. The Danes made their first appearance as invaders on our shores, A.D. 783. For nearly 300 years they renewed these attempts, to the terror of the inhabitants, until the year 1017, when their conquest was completed by Canute, who became King. The last is that which but recently took place in the marriage of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales (eldest son of Queen Victoria) with a princess of the House of Denmark.

Reverting for a moment to the Princess Elizabeth, the clever wife of the Elector Palatine, whose good sense and talents—qualities so conspicuously possessed by the females of the Stuart dynasty—deserved a better fate, it may be mentioned that she had the misfortune to marry a man with plenty of ambition, but without the ability necessary to ensure its success. Chosen by the inhabitants of Prague (Bohemia being an elective monarchy), as their King, he was unable, with every advantage in his favour, to make good his position in the face of Ferdinand, Emperor of Germany; and, what was more a matter of surprise and regret, he failed to secure either the good services or the powerful assistance of James, his father-in-law, whose interference, in all probability,

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would have secured the kingdom to his daughter's children. Driven from Bohemia, and expelled from his own palatinate, Frederick, with his wife and family, fled for refuge to Holland, where they continued to reside for many years in poverty and neglect.

Since the last glimpse we obtained of Oliver Cromwell, two years have elapsed—years of profligacy, extravagance, and dissipation, enough to break the heart of his pious mother, and to alienate the affections of his best friends and kinsmen, the Hampdens, Pyms, and the cousins at Hinchinbrook, in his more immediate neighbourhood. Brighter days were now, however, at hand, for his sorrowing parent: a change of mind took place in Oliver, which was destined to alter the whole future course of his life. From a debauched spendthrift, he suddenly became a moral and religious character, loving what he formerly hated, and hating what he formerly loved.

Curious, and various as curious, have been the attempts made by different people satisfactorily to explain or account for this great and permanent alteration in Oliver's character. Heath, the earliest of his biographers, who published his memoir, called 'Flagellum,' shortly after the Restoration, says: 'A giddy inspiration seized Oliver, and he now became the wonder who just before was the hissing and scorn of all people.'

Sir Phillip Warwick, in his memoirs repeats a conversation he had with Oliver's physician, one Dr. Simcott of Huntingdon, the latter saying that he had often been sent for at midnight to attend Mr. Cromwell, who was very splenetic, often thought he was

just about to die, and that he also had fancies about the 'Town Cross.'

Hearing frequent allusions to the word 'cross,' the Doctor naturally concluded it was the Town Cross in the marketplace, which was pointed out—the only cross perhaps which he could comprehend; whereas, in all probability, the poor patient's mind was engaged in contemplating a Cross quite of another kind—the only one which could speak peace to a guilty conscience, especially burthened as his was, and in the immediate presence of death, as he then thought himself.

Another early biographer, Mark Noble, endeavours to show that the change in Oliver could only be satisfactorily accounted for to his having listened at length to his mother's pious aspirations and admonitions; whilst a third speculator, one Kimber, a Dissenting minister, who published an anonymous work on Cromwell, states his explanation of the phenomenon to be that, 'Oliver, falling into the hands of some Puritans, became mighty reformed, grew sober and religious.'

One in recent times, who has successfully contributed, more perhaps than any other, towards making the present generation acquainted with Oliver Cromwell, has pronounced the cause to have risen from hypochondria, brought on possibly by, or consequent on, his recognition of 'Calvinistic Christianity.'[1]

Let us now hear Cromwell, after the failure of others, who have vainly sought an explanation on this great event and the causes which led to it, in a letter which he wrote some years later to his cousin, Mrs. St. John, a lady who could thoroughly understand

[1] Carlyle.

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and sympathise with him on the matter. 'Alas! you do too highly prize my lines and my company. I am ashamed to own your expressions, considering how unprofitable I am. Yet to honour my God, by declaring what He hath done for my soul, in this I am confident, and I will be so. Truly, then, this I find, that He giveth springs in a dry barren wilderness, where no water is . . . Truly, no poor creature hath more cause to put himself forth in the cause of his God than I. I have had plentiful ways beforehand; and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept me in His Son, and give us to walk in the light, as He is in the light! He it is that enlighteneth our blackness and darkness. I dare not say He hideth His face from me. He giveth me to see light in His light. One beam in a dark place hath much refreshment in it: blessed be His name, for shining upon so dark a heart as mine! You know what my manner of life hath been. Oh, I lived in and loved darkness, and hated light; I was the chief of sinners. This is true; I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me. Oh the riches of His mercy! Praise Him for me, pray for me, that He who hath begun a good work would perfect it till the day of Christ.'

In truth, Divine light had dispelled the moral darkness of his life; the 'one beam in a dark place' had shown him both the sin and the remedy, and with it the accompanying 'refreshment' he stood so much in need of. Henceforth he could say, 'Oh the riches of His mercy!' This striking alteration in Oliver's conduct must have been a joyful event to his anxious

mother, and little less so to their relations, the Stuarts at Ely, and the Hampdens and Barringtons in Buckinghamshire—all Puritans, be it observed, of the good old stamp.

The event just recorded was speedily followed by another of great importance to Oliver's future happiness. With the view of strengthening his pious resolutions, it was deemed desirable by his friends to get him married as soon as practicable, and in this matter they were ably seconded by cousin Hampden, through whose influence a suitable match was found in the family of the Bouchiers residing at Felsted, in Essex. Sir James Bouchier, a respected London merchant, had served the office of High Sheriff, when he had the honour of being knighted by King James, having also more recently served the office of Lord Mayor. The marriage of Oliver Cromwell with Elizabeth Bouchier took place in St. Giles's Church, Cripplegate, August 20, 1620, as the parish register of that church testifies.

Little Master Milton, now in his twelfth year, may, for aught we know to the contrary, have heard the joy-bells ringing on this occasion, as he wended his way to school on that summer morning. Turning over a few pages of that same register, we come upon an entry which nearly concerns him, worth noticing; a period of fifty-four years occupies but a brief space in a parish register. Yet it embraces the lifetime of the immortal poet; for there we read, in the annals of 1674, that Milton lies buried in the neighbouring churchyard.

How long a period Oliver remained in London after the celebration of the marriage we are not told; there could not probably have been much to attract

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or detain them in the gay metropolis, and the reminiscences of his former dissipations would scarcely, with his present altered views, have been of a pleasant or agreeable character.

Down away to his mother's home in the Fen district, then, let us suppose our Oliver taking his young bride, and there, with his unmarried sisters, they remained for some years to come. How many of the five sisters there were at home at this period is not known; all of them were older than Oliver; he was only just turned twenty-one. Doubtless some were married, and so out of the way of the young couple. All five were married eventually—three to husbands whose names appear subsequently in the list of the regicides. The youngest, Robina, was married to Doctor French, a canon of Christchurch, Oxford; and her only daughter became the wife of John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury; and subsequently, after his death, she married Doctor Wilkins, Bishop of Chester.

Of Oliver's uncles and aunts there appears a goodly number living at this period. The old grandfather, Sir Henry, who died in 1603, had eleven children—six sons and five daughters. The eldest inherited Hinchinbrook, and had a numerous family, who subsequently, during the civil wars, embraced the royal cause. Another uncle, Henry of Upwood, had three children; his only daughter was married to Oliver St. John, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the lady to whom Oliver wrote the interesting letter just quoted. The aunts appear to have married into good county families. Elizabeth married William Hampden, and their child was John

Hampden, the patriot; Joan married Sir Francis Barrington, Bart.; Frances married Richard Whalley, Esq., of Kirkston; and of the two last, Mary became the wife of Sir William Dunch, of Little Wittenham, and Dorothy married Sir Thomas Fleming, a son of the Lord Chief Justice.

For some years after their marriage, Oliver Cromwell and his wife continued to attend the parish church, and lived on friendly terms with the clergy of the neighbourhood, who spoke of his transition from 'vice to virtue as extraordinary'; he was, say they, at this time no way given to Nonconformity, but liked the company and discourses of the orthodox divines of the Church of England. Oliver's wife, we are told, was by no means handsome, or even good-looking; but this, says Noble, was 'compensated for by the fortune she brought him' (which, after all, must have been inconsiderable), and by her 'virtue and good sense.'

Their first child, Robert, was born in October 1621, and baptised at St. John's Church, according to the parish register, on the 13th of the same month.

The next ten years in the life of Oliver are almost a blank, so far as contemporaneous history throws any light. Let us suppose him following the ordinary occupations of an agriculturist: riding on horseback to the adjoining towns on market and fair-days; visiting his neighbours; providing for the wants of an increasing family; and talking over public affairs, which daily became more gloomy under the growing tyranny of the Court.

Towards the close of the year 1624, the King's financial difficulties had so multiplied, that he was

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forced at length, reluctantly enough, to assemble a Parliament, which met the following January. In his speech from the throne on this occasion, he commenced by reminding them how often his appeals for pecuniary assistance had been beforetime in vain. 'It has pleased God,' he said, 'seeing some vanity in me, to send back my words as wine spit in my own face, so as I may truly say, "I have piped unto you, and ye have not danced; I have mourned, and ye have not lamented."' He then proceeded to tell them what were their duties, and wherefore they were called together—namely, 'to give the King advice in such errands as he shall ask, or that they shall think fit to ask his advice in.'

The Parliament at once acquiesced in a grant of two subsidies, and next proceeded to discuss the grievances of the nation. Monopolies were especially felt a great burthen; this system had extended to the most trifling details of trade: a man could not keep an inn, or open an alehouse, without purchasing the right to do so from the patentee of this monopoly. Another and a more vexatious one in those days, when gold and silver lace were worn by almost everyone above the lower orders, was that granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Michel, for the exclusive manufacture of these articles. Not satisfied with extensive privileges, these worthies, instead of manufacturing a genuine article, produced a counterfeit made of copper and other poisonous metals, to the injury, we are told, of those who made and those who wore them. The patentees were found guilty, and atoned for their offence by fine and imprisonment—not, however

without a considerable share of the odium attached to the transaction falling upon the King and his minister Buckingham, who were suspected of having connived at the imposition and shared in the plunder. But this was peculiarly an age when corruption, duplicity, and peculation equally prevailed among the higher classes as in those of the merchant and tradesman. A more scandalous case shortly after came to light; no less a personage than the Lord High Chancellor of England, the illustrious Lord Bacon, was accused and proved to have taken bribes in the public administration of justice. Nor was this a solitary exception; for the Judge of the Prerogative Court, Sir John Bennet, and also the Attorney-General, Sir John Yelverton, were equally proved to have committed the same grave offence.

Into the disputes between James and his Parliament we have no desire to enter: remonstrances, refusals of supplies, and sudden dismissals resulted, as is well known, in alienating the affections of his subjects, and preparing them for the catastrophe which happened in the next reign.

Subsidies, when granted, were put to an improper use, and forced loans, called benevolences, were exacted from wealthy individuals, under the threat, in case of non-compliance, of foreign service with the army in the Palatinate. Of this latter fact, a curious instance is on record, of a wealthy cheesemonger, who had the alternative placed before him, either of giving to the King 200*l.*, supplying the army with cheese, or serving in it abroad. Being an old man, upwards of

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eighty years of age, he yielded to the exaction, and paid the money.

It was a new thing in this reign to mention or talk about the privileges of Parliament, and of a constitutional government; James ignored all other rule but that of the royal prerogative. 'Your privileges,' he wrote to the Commons from Newmarket, in answer to one of their remonstrances—'Your privileges were not derived, as you say, from ancient and undoubted right, but from the grace and permission of our ancestors and *Us*! And, for the most part, have grown from precedents which show rather a toleration than an inheritance . . . . Your House had need beware of trenching upon the prerogative of the Crown, which would enforce us, or any just king, to retrench them.'

Against this doctrine the Commons entered a protest, wherein they assert 'that the maintenance and making of laws, and the redress of mischiefs and grievances, are proper subjects and matters of council and debate in Parliament. That freedom of speech ought by right to belong to every member, and that every member hath like freedom from all impeachments, imprisonments, and molestations.' Roused by this tone of boldness and independence, his Majesty came in person to the Council Chamber, and summoning the Judges, he declared, in their presence, 'the said protestation to be invalid, annulled, void, and of no effect, and ordered the said protestation to be taken out of the Journal Book, by the clerk of the Commons' House of Parliament.' Nor did his resentment stop here, for he dissolved the Parliament,

and issued a warrant against several members, who had taken the most prominent part in the opposition. Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Phillips, Mr. Selden, Pym, Mallery, and several others, were committed to prison, or sent in banishment and disgrace to Ireland. Prince Charles, whose sympathies appear at this time to have leaned towards the Parliament, interceded with his father on behalf of Sir Edward Coke; but the King curtly replied, that 'he knew no such man,' and swore 'there was one Captain Coke, the leader of the faction in Parliament.'

The few remaining years of the monarch's life were spent, for the most part, in hopeless intrigues with Spain, in endeavouring to bring about the marriage of his son with the Infanta, which at length was broken off, to the joy of the English nation, who testified their delight by the kindling of bonfires and ringing of parish-bells throughout the country.

King James died, after a short illness, in March 1625, in his fifty-ninth year, and the twenty-second of his reign. It has been said, with much truth, that during this period the English nation had been made a byword and reproach in the eyes of all Europe. Her merchants no longer obtained either credit or respect, and were often afraid to show their faces at a foreign bourse, by reason of the King's pusillanimous conduct. The Court is described as a nursery of lust and intemperance. Oaths became fashionable, the King himself setting the example. From the pulpits rang frequent denunciations against the folly, insolence, and imprudence of women in the upper circles—the natural fruit of a vicious and corrupt Court.

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'The Book of Sports' had become the textbook of the country. Baxter, who was then a youth, bears testimony to the profanation of the sabbath at that period. The inhabitants of the village where his father resided were accustomed to dance round the Maypole, whilst his parents, with three or four other families, who were shocked at such profanity, joined together to spend the day in acts of devotion; for which, says Baxter, they were reviled as Puritans. Mrs. Hutchinson, who wrote the memoirs of her husband, Colonel Hutchinson—herself a young girl during the closing years of James I.—describes the Court of Charles I. as 'chaste, temperate, and serious,' in comparison to that over which his father presided.

It is noticeable and significant, in reference to Archbishop Laud, that just in proportion as that prelate gained ascendancy, so did the tendency towards ritualism increase, and the separation between classes became wider and more distinct; until at length, by degrees, we find the nation divided into two antagonistic elements, represented by the King, the High Church party, and the Papists, on the one side, and the great bulk of the nation, for the most part Puritan, on the other. Finally, let it be remembered that this state of things was brought about by hierarchical folly and presumption, acting on the inflated notions of the monarch in reference to the royal prerogative; which, in its turn, provoked and drove into hostility a large class of nominal churchmen, of no particular or distinctive views about religion who, under the name of State Puritans, henceforth distinguished themselves by their

marked opposition to the ruling power, both in Church and State, resulting, as is well known, in civil war. To this let it be added, that the new bishops chosen by James admitted the Church of Rome to be a true Church, and the Pope the first bishop of Christendom. They also declared for the lawfulness of images in churches; for the real presence in the Eucharist; for confession to a priest; and the merit of good works to entitle a sinner, on the score of desert, to participate in the scheme of redemption.

Such, then, was the inheritance bequeathed to the unfortunate monarch who succeeded, and a brief career in the same footsteps was all that was necessary to bring about the inevitable catastrophe which ensued.

Three or four children were by this date born to Oliver Cromwell. The eldest, Robert, had died early. Oliver, the second child, lived to manhood, and died on the battlefield early in the civil war. Bridget, a daughter, came next, with whom we shall meet hereafter—first, as the wife of Ireton, and secondly, as the wife of Fleetwood. On October 4, 1626, Richard Cromwell was born. Circumstances connected with the baptism of this child are interesting, inasmuch as the first authentic record of Oliver, in his own handwriting, has been preserved in a letter he wrote to a college-friend at Cambridge, asking him to stand godfather to his child:—

'*To my approved good friend Mr. Henry Downhall, at his chambers in St. John's College, Cambridge.*

'Loving Sir,—Make me so much your servant by being godfather to my child. I would myself have come over to make a formal invitation, but my occa-

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sions would not permit me, and therefore hold me in that excused. The day of your trouble is Thursday next. Let me entreat your company on Wednesday. By this time it appears I am more apt to encroach upon you for new favours, than to show my thankfulness for the love I have already found. But I know your patience, and your goodness cannot be exhausted by your friend and servant,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'

The circumstance of Oliver inviting a clergyman of the Church of England to become sponsor to one of his children, proves at least this much, that up to this time he had not separated from the Establishment.

Of Mr. Downhall's subsequent history, all that is important to mention may here be inserted. Shortly after the christening he was appointed vicar of St. Ives, a living in the gift of St. John's, in which college he had held a fellowship upwards of twelve years. In after-years he distinguished himself as an anti-Puritan malignant, and during the civil war was frequently in trouble; on one occasion, he was taken into custody of the Sergeant-at-arms, by order of the Long Parliament, for refusing to admit a lecturer to preach in the parish church. This happened in the year 1642; the year following he was dispossessed of his living, for keeping curates who would persevere in the observance of certain church ceremonies which had been forbidden, and for being an enemy to the Parliament. He survived to see the Restoration, and, as a reward for his constancy to the royal cause, he was made Archdeacon of Huntingdon.

CHAPTER IV.

Archbishop Laud at Whitehall—Death and last Moments of King James—The Funeral and Postmortem Examination—Marriage of King Charles and Henrietta of France—Visitations of the Great Pestilence—The Duke of Buckingham First Minister—The First Parliament and the Speech of the King—Two Subsidies granted—Parliament adjourned to Oxford—Discussions of Grievances—The King resorts to a Forced Loan—Failure of the Fleet under Viscount Wimbledon—Parliament condemns the Advisers of the King for Misapplication of the Subsidy—Charge against the Duke of Buckingham—His Impeachment and Debate thereon—Royal Message to the Commons and their Interview with His Majesty—Sir John Eliot and others sent to the Tower—The Commons petition the King—Parliament dissolved—Financial Difficulties of the Court—The Attorney-General devises a Scheme for replenishing the Exchequer—Domestic Troubles of the Royal Family—Priestly Interference therein—The King dismisses the French Retinue, Priests included—Discontent among the Fleet—The King obliged to call another Parliament—Oliver Cromwell Member for Huntingdon—The King's Speech and the Debate thereon—Sir Edward Coke's bold Declaration—Constitutional Freedom not understood by the Stuarts—The Act of Edward II. and the Consent of Parliament to all Laws—Social Organisation and its Laws of Development—Continued Disputes between the King and the Parliament—Remonstrance sent by the Commons to His Majesty—Graphic Description of the Member for Malton, an Eye-witness of the Scene he describes as taking place in the House—Abrupt Termination of the Session—Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham—Meeting of Parliament—Puritan Ascendency in the House—The First Speech of Cromwell—Taxes formerly granted at the Commencement of each Reign—Tonnage and Poundage—Taxes which led to Disputes with the King, and ultimately to Civil War—Scene of Confusion in the Commons—The Speaker forcibly held down in his Chair whilst the Protest is read and passed—Parliament dissolved—The King issues a Proclamation—His Majesty decides on governing without a Parliament—Lay Impropriations—Laud's Efforts to get hold of them—His annual Report to the King on the State and Discipline of the Church.

LAUD, now Bishop of St. David's, was preaching at Whitehall on Sunday, March 27, 1625, when the news

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of the death of King James reached London.[1] There was a speedy interruption to the discourse of the prelate, occasioned by this intelligence, which spread through the chapel, and the service was quickly brought to a conclusion.

The last moments of the deceased monarch appear to have been tranquil. Two days before he died he received the sacrament, and, in answer to the question whether he would receive priestly absolution, he replied: 'Yes, as it is practised in the English Church, I ever approved it; but in the dark way of the Church of Rome, I do defy it.' This fact is vouched for by Sir Edward Conway, who adds, 'I had the honour and comfort to receive it with him.'

So thoroughly convinced were the Papists that the King would at the last acknowledge his belief in the Roman Catholic faith, that it required all the diligence of the Lord Keeper Williams to keep them from the dying monarch's bedside. 'The Papists,' says an old writer, 'thought themselves sure of him, and crept much about the chamber-door when he was dying; but Williams, the Lord Keeper, commanded them to keep at a distance.'[2]

Charles hurried up to London on the Sunday afternoon from Theobalds (where the King died), attended by Dr. Preston and the Duke of Buckingham. They probably heard the heralds proclaiming

[1] '*Midlent, Sunday, March* 27.—I preached at Whitehall. I ascended the pulpit much troubled, and in a very melancholy momen the report then spread that his Majesty King James, of most sacred memory to me, was dead. Being interrupted with the dolours of the Duke of Buckingham, I broke off my sermon.'—*Laud's Diary.*

[2] Oldmixon.

the new King as they drove through the streets, which presented a more than usually crowded state on that sabbath evening.

The great Solon of the age was no more! 'The wisest fool in Christendom'—as he afterwards came to be considered, from the wonderful craftiness he showed in the pursuit and attainment of little things—had passed away into the land of forgetfulness. Then followed the post-mortem examination, the lying-in-state, the funeral, and all was over. The cause which led to the first of these was a suspicion that he had been poisoned by the Duke of Buckingham, who was said to have given the King a potion with his own hands, and also applied a plaister to his side without the advice of the physicians. There is extant a circumstantial account of this curious medical examination, in a letter of the time, from which the following is an extract: 'His head was so strong as they could hardly break it open with a chisel and a saw, and so full of brains as they could not upon the opening keep them from spilling—a great mark of his infinite judgment.'

Short was the interval between the funeral of the father and the marriage of the son. The latter took place at Paris, the favourite, Buckingham, being sent over as proxy for his royal master; and the clever handsome Henrietta, daughter of Henry IV. of France, then in her seventeenth year, became Queen of Great Britain and Ireland. Her first interview with Charles took place at Canterbury; she had arrived, after a prolonged voyage of twenty hours, the evening before, at Dover, from Boulogne. The following

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extract from a letter affords an amusing glimpse of the royal manners and customs of the period:—

'The King rode from Dover. The Queen was at meat when he arrived—he stayed till she had done—which when she was advertised of, [she] made short work, rose, went out unto him, kneeled down at his feet, took and kissed his hand. The King then took her up in his arms, kissed her, and talking with her, cast down his eyes towards her feet (she seeming higher than report was, reaching to his shoulder), which she, soon perceiving, discovered and showed him her shoes, saying, "Sir, I stand upon my own feet; I have no helps by art; thus high I am, and am neither higher or lower."'[1]

The celebration of the marriage took place in England during the visitation of the plague, and when London was in mourning and lamentation for the most dreadful pestilence that had ever yet visited this country. In one week, we are told, upwards of 5,000 had died; the streets were 'overgrown with grass to Westminster Hall, and scarce anyone to be seen in them.'[2] The Queen was unable to remain in town, and the Parliament adjourned to Oxford.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the three greatest visitations of the plague in this country occurred in the reigns of the Stuarts, and happened at eventful periods in the history of the three first monarchs of that dynasty. The first of these was at the accession of James, when upwards of 30,000 persons were carried off; the second is that we have just mentioned, when 35,000 died; and the last, called the

[1] Court of Charles I. [2] Whitelock's Memorials.

Great Plague, commenced shortly after the Restoration, when from 60,000 to 100,000 fell victims to its ravages.

The Duke of Buckingham continued under the new monarch, as he had been in the last reign, the principal adviser of the Crown. One of the first acts he was called upon to perform, was that of tendering to his Majesty a list of clergymen for the office of chaplains. Care was of course taken to exclude all who were personally obnoxious to Laud and the High Church party; the list had, in fact, been drawn up by that prelate. It is needless to add, that no minister suspected of Puritan tendencies found himself included among those submitted for approval. The militia and trainbands next demanded his attention. During the previous reign these forces had fallen into neglect and disuse; but a general muster was now ordered throughout the country. It will shortly be seen to what strange uses these were subsequently put.

Parliament having met on June 18, the King, in his speech, told the House that, the subsidies granted in the last Parliament being spent, further supplies were immediately necessary. On the subject of religion, the King went on to say: 'I do assure you, that I may with St. Paul say, that I have been trained at the feet of Gamaliel [his father], and all the world shall see that none are more desirous to maintain the religion I profess than I shall be.' The Parliament, however, was by no means so sanguine as to the nature of the instructions of Gamaliel, if we may judge by what followed; for one of their first acts was to present a petition to his Majesty against Popish recusants,

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it having transpired, that in the secret marriage treaty there had been inserted a clause exempting the property of Roman Catholics from being searched as heretofore, and also another clause, stipulating that all of that faith at present in prison for refusing the oath of supremacy should be set at liberty, and their goods restored.

Notwithstanding the determination of the two Houses to discuss their grievances before entering upon any other business, they decided on granting two subsidies, as a conciliatory preliminary at the commencement of the new reign. The Act for the subsidies was no sooner passed, than the King, under the pretence of the plague then raging in the metropolis, adjourned the Parliament to Oxford. As the sole object of the monarch in calling them together had been for the present accomplished, his desire was to prevent the transaction of all other business; they, nevertheless, proceeded to debate on the subject of grievances. It was in vain he sent repeated messages. The House continued obdurate, so that, at the last, the Parliament was hastily dissolved, but not soon enough to prevent the declaration which the Commons had drawn up, setting forth their wish to enquire into the manner their previous subsidies had been disposed of, and into the grievances under which the country groaned.

Among the few Acts passed this Session, were two which plainly indicated the temper of the times—one against tippling in alehouses on Sundays, the other for the punishment of abuses and neglect of the sabbath.

To carry on the war with Spain—a legacy be-

queathed to him by his father—Charles was obliged to resort to a *forced* loan. The lord-lieutenants of counties were therefore required to furnish a list of persons in their districts able to assist in the required subsidy. At the same time the King issued a conciliatory mandate, wherein he explained his necessities, adding: 'We doubt not but we shall receive such a testimony of your good affection, and that with such alacrity as may make the same so much more acceptable; especially seeing we require but that sum which few men would deny a friend, which we promise to repay to you within eighteen months after payment thereof.'

This loan, small as it was, enabled the fleet, consisting of eighty sail, under the command of Edward Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon, to put to sea, with the view of intercepting the Spanish galleons returning from the silver-mines. The expedition however failed —the Spaniards got home in safety; and, the loan being all spent, the King was compelled by his pressing wants to call together another Parliament, which met accordingly on the following 6th of February. Previous to issuing the writs, his councillors, Buckingham and Laud, whose object it was to exclude certain persons obnoxious to the Court, caused those individuals to be pricked for sheriffs, thus disqualifying them for serving as knights of the shire in the new House. Sir Edward Coke, Sir Robert Phillips, and Sir Thomas Wentworth—names not associated with feudal grandeur, but great in the history of England—were especially aimed at by this stratagem.

A proclamation was also issued, requiring all persons who were possessed of 40*l.* a year in landed

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property, to receive the order of knighthood, paying of course the stipulated fees.

Persevering in the determination of the former Parliament, not to discuss other matters until grievances had been ventilated, the House, on its meeting, resolved itself into a Committee, and passed a resolution, condemning the King's advisers, and charging them with diminishing the strength of the kingdom, countenancing Papists, not guarding sufficiently the narrow seas, multiplying civil and ecclesiastical pluralities, the delivery of ships to the French, and gross misapplication of the last subsidy. As most of these charges reflected principally on the Duke of Buckingham, notice was given him by the House of its intention to debate upon these matters, in order that he might be in his place to defend himself.

The King, seeing the temper of the Commons, and their determination to discuss the conduct of his favourite Minister, sent a message to put a stop to further debate. 'I will not,' remarks his Majesty, 'allow any of my servants to be questioned by you . . . . Apply yourselves to redress grievances, not to enquire after them . . . . I would that you should hasten for my supplies, or else it will be worse for yourselves; for if any ill happen, I think I shall be the last to feel it.'

Alas for his own obstinacy! He was ultimately among the first, instead of the last, to feel the consequences he now threatened. The House nevertheless persevered, and a motion for the impeachment of the Duke was carried, on the proposition of Dr. Turner, 'that common fame be a good ground of proceeding

for the House.' Another member, Mr. Clement Coke, son of Sir Edward, also boldly declared, 'that it were better to die by an enemy than to suffer at home.' As if, however, to qualify this bold and hostile step, they at the same time voted more subsidies; but the King's anger was now roused to the utmost, for, on learning that the impeachment had been decided on, he summoned the Lords and Commons into his presence. 'I am come here,' he told them, 'to show you your errors;' then, turning to Lord Keeper Coventry, he commanded him to intimate to them his royal will and pleasure. The Lord Keeper began by stating that his Majesty demanded justice against Mr. Coke and Dr. Turner for their seditious speeches; that, as regarded the Duke of Buckingham, the King better knew than any man living the sincerity of the Duke's proceedings; 'and as to their pretending to know how to manage foreign businesses, to be censured and traduced by men whose years and education cannot attain to that depth—this his Majesty holds as insufferable.' The King now took up the subject, and said, 'It is not the way to deal with a king! Mr. Coke told you that it was better to die by an enemy than to suffer at home; but I think it more honour for a king to be invaded and almost destroyed by a foreign enemy, than to be despised by his own subjects.'

The Duke, notwithstanding, was impeached, and the King adjourned the House for a week. On reassembling, they still persevered in their charges against the favourite; and after a long debate, in which Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges took a leading

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part, their proceedings were suspended by an act of violence on the part of the King, who committed Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges to the Tower. The Commons at once resolved to proceed on no business until their two members were restored. Digges suffered himself to be prevailed upon to explain away his meaning, and was set at liberty; Sir John Eliot, after a few days' imprisonment, was released without making any explanation.

This concession, had it stood alone, might have materially assisted in restoring the confidence and good understanding, which the proceedings of the last few days had interrupted, between Charles and his Parliament. Unable, however, to conceal his anger, he gave vent to it in a very offensive form, by causing Buckingham—the charges against him in the impeachment being still unanswered—to be appointed Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, which happened at that moment to be vacant—a proceeding which naturally produced great irritation in the House of Commons.

At length, on June 8, the Duke sent in his answer to the impeachment, and two days later the Speaker received an intimation of his Majesty's intention, after a week's interval, to adjourn the House, and directing them to employ that period in passing the necessary subsidies. No allusion was made to the Duke's impeachment. Upon this the members agreed to wait upon the King in a body, with a declaration and petition. The results of this interview were most unfortunate: the King, greatly displeased with the tone and contents of these two

documents, determined, be the consequences what they might in reference to the financial state of the exchequer, to dissolve the Parliament forthwith. The Commons, however, determined to be beforehand with him, hastened back in time to draw up a remonstrance. They were not, however, soon enough to present it before the dissolution took place. Thus ended disastrously the second Parliament of Charles I.

Now came the grand financial difficulty with the Court: how to raise means to meet immediate demands became the question. In this emergency, Noy, the Attorney-General, devised a scheme for raising a loan from the port of London and the chief ports around the coast, under the pretence of furnishing ships to guard the British seas. Another project from the same fertile source was also set on foot, under the title of 'general benevolence'; the novel method of extorting compliance, on the part of those who refused to give anything, was adopted of billeting soldiers, who frequently committed great outrages with impunity on those families who were unfortunate enough to suffer this infliction. But still more severe was the penalty inflicted in some instances: compulsory military service in a foreign land, or to serve as a common sailor in the King's ships, was not unfrequently the sentence some had to endure for refusal or inability to pay. A further proof of the hasty and rapid strides the Court was now taking towards despotic government, is afforded in the fact that, at the Council-table, the King caused it to be debated whether, on a subject's refusal to take press-money, he should not be tried by martial law, and, if guilty,

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hanged upon the nearest tree to his dwelling, for an example and terror to others.

The subserviency of the Bishops whenever they sate, either at the Council-table or in the Star Chamber, showed itself by their votes, for they nearly always decided according to what would be most acceptable to his Majesty.

The King's necessities unquestionably were very urgent—so much so, that the officers about the Court, and even the domestic servants of the palace, had not received their wages, which were three years in arrear. Already engaged in war with Spain—also with Austria, for the recovery of the Palatinate—he now found himself on the eve of a misunderstanding with France, brought on as follows. According to the marriage-treaty, the Queen had brought to this country a considerable retinue of priests and servants; but the arrogance of the former had become so intolerable, that Charles could no longer submit to it.

The immediate cause, however, of his interference was occasioned by the Queen herself, whose blind implicit obedience to their behests induced her, at the order of her confessor, to walk from the palace to Tyburn, by way of penance. The King resented this ghostly counsel by dismissing the whole French retinue, priests included, all of whom were despatched to their own country in high dudgeon. The offensively peremptory manner in which this was carried out is evidenced in the following letter, written by the King to the Duke of Buckingham, dated August 26, 1626:—

'STEINIE,—I have received your letter by Dr. Green. This is my answer: I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town, if you can by fair means (but stick not long in disputing); otherwise force them away, driving them like beasts until you have shipped them, and so the devil go with them! Let me have no answer but of the performance of my command. So I rest, your faithful, constant, loving friend, CHARLES R.'

Doctors Sibthorp and Mainwaring, two staunch advocates for the King's supremacy, made themselves notoriously conspicuous this autumn (1626), by preaching and publishing sermons in favour of absolute monarchy. The latter asserted that the King was not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning his subjects' rights and liberties, but that he could, without the consent of Parliament, impose loans and taxes obligatory on the subject, under pain of eternal damnation.

It is a melancholy proof of the favour these doctrines received at Court, when it is added that Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was suspended from all his functions, and confined to his country-house near Canterbury, for refusing to license Sibthorp's sermon. It is told of Mainwaring, that, having applied to a friend, to furnish him with all the ancient precedents he could find in favour of absolute monarchy, his friend replied that the only precedent he could meet with 'was one which would surely hang him;' and if he lived to see another Parliament, he would be sure

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of a '*halter*.' The sermons, however, were licensed, and by one whose willingness to oblige the Court there was no doubt of. Laud gave the necessary legal qualification, and thus the sermons got printed and circulated—a circumstance which told, however, against that prelate in time to come.

Another instance of the arbitrary tendencies of the Court at this period, is the case of Sir John Eliot, who, with others, had been sent to prison for refusing to lend the King money. On application being made that he might be brought to trial, the Judges unanimously refused the writ of 'habeas corpus,' in obedience to the wishes of the Court. Deep murmurs were now heard throughout the country against the Duke of Buckingham, who, in addition to the other charges, had to answer for the failure of the fleet in an expedition against the Isle of Rhe; he having been the Admiral, although knowing nothing practically of naval matters.

There was, besides all these troubles, the growing discontent of the navy, the sailors not having received their pay, through the failure of the loan on which the prosecution of the war with France depended. Charles, therefore, found himself placed in the extremity of all others he most wished to avoid—that of being obliged to call another Parliament, which he was reluctantly compelled to do for March 27 ensuing.

In this third Parliament of Charles I., the name of Oliver Cromwell for the first time appears, he having been returned member for the town of Huntingdon.

The King delivered his speech as usual, in which he told them plainly, in a few brief words, 'That common danger was the cause of this Parliament, and that supply was the chief end of it'; that, 'in his judgment, the calling of them together was the best way to get the supply; yet he must, in the discharge of his duty, tell them that if they failed him in this matter, he must, in the discharge of his conscience, use other means which God had put into his hands.' At the same time, he warned them 'not to take as a threat what was only intended as an admonition.'

The House gravely listened, in silence, to these ominous words, and then proceeded to debate, as formerly, upon their grievances, which now embraced a long catalogue of evils—benevolences, forced loans, billeting of soldiers, privy seals, imprisonment and arbitrary suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, besides several others; and a resolution was carried, that 'no supplies be granted until these be redressed.' Early in the debate, the veteran advocate, Sir Edward Coke, made a bold declaration. 'I will,' said he, 'begin with a noble record; it is worthy to be written in letters of gold: Loans against the will of the subject are against reason.' The House, after a short debate, decided unanimously—'That no freeman ought to be imprisoned, without cause shown, either by the King or the Council. That the Habeas Corpus Act ought in that case to be in force, and if no cause of commitment be returned, the party is to be bailed.' In addition to this, it was voted that 'no tax ought to be imposed without the assent of Parliament.'

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In the early days of the struggle for freedom, startling as it may seem to the present generation, there was a necessity most urgent, that Parliament should thus solemnly put on record these declarations, which have become the Magna Charta in all subsequent times. Axioms such as those just enunciated belong, one would have thought, to the dawn of political existence, rather than to the period which followed Queen Elizabeth and the Tudors; but the doctrines of toleration and constitutional liberty were still in their infancy in the days of the Stuarts, and if leading men of mind and intellect, as Bacon, Luther, and Calvin, knew but little of the former, how much less so was to be expected from one who had been the pupil of 'the wisest fool in Christendom'?

The 15th of Edward II. declares the necessity of obtaining the consent of Parliament to all laws, and there is no instance on record where this statute has been abrogated. The elaborate system under which this nation is now governed was of no sudden growth. It was the work of centuries, and the tide of revolution had to sweep over the land; the baptism of blood had to be gone through, ere that work was accomplished. It has been well remarked, that 'if we have been delivered from a destroying revolution in the nineteenth century, it was because we had a preserving one in the seventeenth.'[1]

The Stuarts from the first never understood the exigence of their position; those great despotic continental monarchies which James took for his model had for generations lost all traces of a Con-

[1] Macaulay.

stitution. To expect a free people, accustomed to representative government, tamely to submit to an arbitrary and despotic one, is simply an absurdity, only equal to that of expecting to see a nation at once becoming republican, because the governing body for the time being happens to have republican tendencies. The social organism has its laws of growth and development, which are in their nature as inflexible and undeviating as those that govern the material world around us, and history furnishes abundant proofs that every advance in social science has been an addition to its civilisation, happiness, and wellbeing.

It were an almost endless task to follow the King and the Parliament, this year, through their disputes about prerogative on the one side, and grievances on the other. The issue was a very simple one—the King's object being first to obtain supplies, and secondly to dismiss the assembly; the Parliament, who plainly understood their position, were equally firm not to grant the one, without having first obtained the redress they sought. The Commons, however, were prevailed upon to pass a vote for four subsidies, but they still withheld the money. The King's messages were frequent and urgent: 'Would they not,' he asked, 'be content to rest on the royal word?' Mainwaring's case occupied at this time the attention of the House, and the King, in the vain hope of pacifying it, counselled that ecclesiastic to 'confess and submit,' which he accordingly did; but submission failed of its object, for he was sentenced to be fined, imprisoned, and for ever incapacitated

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from holding Church preferment. All this, however, did not prevent the King from subsequently appointing him to a good living.

A new device on the part of the Court to silence the members was now resorted to. A fresh message was sent to the Commons to hasten the supplies, intimating that it was the King's intention to end the Session in a fortnight. The Speaker also received private instructions to that effect, which he endeavoured to carry out; for in the debate which followed, Sir John Eliot rose to address the House, when the Speaker interposed, thinking Sir John was going to speak against the Duke of Buckingham, and said, 'I must command you not to proceed.' Sir John, on this, resumed his seat, when Sir Nicholas Rich, however, rose and said, 'We must speak now, or for ever hold our peace. Let us go together to the Lords and show our dangers, that we may then to the King together.' After which Sir Edward Coke rose in his place and exclaimed, 'Let us palliate no longer; if we do, God will not prosper us. I think the Duke of Buckingham is the cause of all our miseries.' A remonstrance to that effect was accordingly agreed to, and the Speaker was at once sent to the King to enquire when it would be his Majesty's pleasure to receive them; the message he brought back was an order to adjourn 'the House until the next day.' This eventful phase in the history of the House of Commons has been graphically depicted by the member for Malton, in Yorkshire, an eyewitness, in a letter to his friend Mr. Chamberlain, of the Court of Wards, as follows:—

'Yesterday was a day of desolation among us in Parliament, and this day we fear will be the day of our dissolution. Upon Tuesday, Sir John Eliot moved that, as we intended to move his Majesty with money, we should also supply him with counsel . . . So he desired there might be a declaration made to the King of the danger wherein the kingdom stood, by the decay and contempt of religion, the insufficiency of his generals, the unfaithfulness of his officers, the weakness of his councils, the exhausting of his treasure, the death of his men, the decay of trade, the loss of shipping, the many and powerful enemies, the few and the poor friends, we had abroad.

'In the enumerating of which the Chancellor of the Duchy said it was strange language, yet the House commanded Sir John Eliot to go on; then the Chancellor desired, if he went on, that himself might go out, whereupon they all bade him begone; yet he stayed and heard him out, and the House generally inclined to such a declaration, to be presented in a humble and modest manner—not prescribing to the King the way, but leaving it to his judgment for reformation. So the next day, being Wednesday, we had a message from his Majesty, that the Session should end on Wednesday, and that therefore we should husband the time, and despatch the old businesses without entertaining new. Intending to pursue their declaration, they had this message yesterday morning, which I have here enclosed you, requiring them not to cast any aspersion upon any Minister of his Majesty; the House was much affected to be so restrained, since the House in former time had

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proceeded by committing John of Gaunt, the King's son, and of late have sentenced the Lord Chancellor Bacon and the Lord Treasurer Cranfield.

'Then Sir Robert Phillips spake, and mingled his words with weeping; Mr. Prynne did the like; and Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, through the abundance of tears,—yea, the Speaker in his speech could not refrain from weeping and shedding of tears, besides a great many whose griefs made them dumb. In the end they desired the Speaker to leave the chair, and Mr. Whitby was to come into it, that they might speak the freer, and commanded that no man go out of the House upon pain of going to the Tower. Then the Speaker humbly and earnestly desired the House to give him leave to absent himself for half an hour, which was instantly granted him. Sir Edward Coke then told them he now saw God had not accepted of their humble and moderate carriages and fair proceedings, and the rather because he thought they dealt not sincerely with the King, and with the country, in making a true representation of the causes of all these miseries, which now he repented himself, since things had come to this pass, that he did it not sooner; he, not knowing whether ever he should speak in this House again, would now do it freely; and therefore protested that the author and cause of all those miseries was the Duke of Buckingham, which was entertained and answered with a cheerful acclamation of the House, as when one good hound recovers the scent, the rest come in with a full

cry; so they pursued it, and every one came on home, and laid the blame where they thought the fault was; and as they were voting it to be the question whether they should name him (the Duke) in their intended remonstrance, as the sole or principal cause of all their miseries at home and abroad, the Speaker—having been three hours absent, and with the King—returned with this message, that the House should then rise till to-morrow morning.

'What we shall expect this morning God of Heaven knows. We shall meet timely this morning, partly for the business' sake, and partly because, two days since, we made an order, that whosoever comes in after prayers pays twelvepence to the poor. Sir, excuse my haste, and let us have your prayers, whereof both you and we here have need; so in scribbling haste I rest,

'Affectionately at your service,

'THOMAS ALURED.

'This 6th of June, 1628.'

The short interval occasioned by the adjournment had no tranquillising effect, for no sooner had the House assembled, than a vote of accusation was passed, embracing several of the King's advisers. The two bishops, Laud and Neale, were especially mentioned as 'those near the King who are suspected to be Arminians and unsound that way.' The King, on learning what was taking place, commanded the Star Chamber to order the Bill of Accusation to be taken off the file of the House, and at the same time he sent a message, abruptly terminating the Session, which reached the Commons just as the Speaker was in the

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act of reading the remonstrance preparatory to its being presented to his Majesty.

By this arbitrary dismissal, another link was added to the chain of national grievances—another act of tyranny for the members to brood over, as they returned to their constituents in that leafy month of June, scattering the seeds of discontent throughout the length and breadth of the land, which soon after developed themselves in a sad and unexpected manner—no less than the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham. It was whilst visiting Portsmouth, on matters connected with his office, that this act of fatal vengeance was committed. The assassin (Felton) left London on horseback for this diabolical object, actuated, as he then thought, by strong religious motives, but which subsequently he attributed to Satan. Approaching the Duke from behind, he struck him with a sharp-pointed knife over the shoulder, and stabbed him in the breast; the knife had pierced his heart, and he fell down dead, exclaiming, as he fell, 'The villain has killed me!'

As a proof of the angry and excited state the nation was in at this period, it may be mentioned that this act was everywhere considered as a direct interposition of the righteous judgment of God, and Felton, as he returned to London a prisoner, was hailed as a deliverer by the villagers whom he met on the road. At Kingston-upon-Thames one old woman ran up to him and exclaimed, 'Now God bless thee, little David!'

The next and final Session of Charles I.'s third and last Parliament commenced on January 20, 1629. The King, in his message, desired the Commons to take

into speedy consideration the matter of tonnage and poundage, on which they had been occupied up to the close of the last Session. As usual, however, they adopted their former course of debating on the old topic of grievances, and of those especially which had reference to religious matters.

It is to be remarked that each successive Parliament had latterly become more and more favourably disposed towards the Puritans—nay, more, the majority of the present assembly were Puritans; it is therefore no longer a matter of surprise that on the subject of Popery, a topic on which they felt so keenly, that question should have a preference in their deliberations; nor was the selection made from the desire of giving annoyance to the Government, as some seemed disposed to consider; nevertheless, there could not have been a subject for debate more offensive to Charles, his chief adviser Laud, and the Court, than the one selected.

The question at issue was simply put by Pym, in the debate which followed. 'There are,' he observed, 'two diseases (amongst us)—the old Popery, and the new Arminianism.' It was on this occasion that Oliver Cromwell broke silence, for the first time, in the House. In reference to pardons granted since the last Session by the King, the Committee of which he was a member find, he goes on to say, 'that Dr. Sibthorp and Mr. Cosens did get their pardon, and that the Bishop of Winchester (Neale) did promise to procure Mr. Montague's pardon; that Dr. Mainwaring did solicit his own pardon, and that the Bishop got the King's hand to it.' Such are the brief and

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almost incoherent utterances on record of Oliver's first effort in the House of Commons. Rushworth's report of this speech is somewhat less terse, but more intelligible, to the following effect:—'Mr. Cromwell informed the House what countenance the Bishop of Winchester did give to some person by name, and how, by this Bishop's means, Mainwaring, who, by censure of the last Parliament, was disabled for ever holding ecclesiastical dignity in the Church, and did confess the justice of that censure, is nevertheless preferred to a rich living. If these be the steps to Church preferment, said he, what may we expect?'

After a short debate, the House passed an order, 'That Dr. Beard of Huntingdon be written to by Mr. Speaker, to come up and testify against the Bishop; the order for Dr. Beard to be delivered to Mr. Cromwell.' This, like the previous sessions, was a brief and agitated one; Parliament being determined to pursue the enquiry into grievances, specially those appertaining to matters of religion, whilst the Court was as strenuous in endeavouring to divert them from such discussions.

In the matter of tonnage and poundage an Order in Council had been issued, directing the collectors of those taxes peremptorily to levy them, and at the same time the Lord Treasurer was empowered to imprison all who refused to pay. This act of the Council was voted by the House a breach of their privileges. One of the first victims of this fresh Court aggression was Mr. Rolls, a member of the House.

These taxes, which are known at the present day under the name of *Customs*, had their origin in the

reign of Edward III., about the year 1346. They had heretofore been granted to the King, at the beginning of each reign, for his life; but at the commencement of the present reign, the Commons, in opposition to the wishes of the Upper House, voted them only for a specific period, renewable at each new Parliament or Session. This led to constant disputes between the King and the Lower House, and ultimately paved the way for those unfortunate divergences, which became wider and wider each succeeding year, finally terminating in civil war.

'Tonnage and poundage,' said the King, in his order to the collectors, 'is a principal revenue of our Crown, and has been continued for these many years; I have therefore ordered that it be levied under pain of imprisonment.'

In the angry debate which ensued, there appeared a general impression that the subject had only been introduced by the Crown in order to divert the House from their purpose. Very probably this may have been so: be that as it may, the Commons were determined it should not have this result. One member rose and said, 'These interruptions proceed from certain prelates.' Sir John Eliot, who next spoke, named Dr. Neile, the Bishop of Winchester. 'I find him,' says Sir John, 'the person in whom all evil is contracted; he is the head of all the great party from whence the Papists, the Jesuits, and the priests derive their shelter and protection. I find him acting and building on those grounds laid by his master, the great Duke.'

It was in the course of this debate that the memor-

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able struggle between the Speaker and the House, which for some time past had been seen to be inevitable, took place. A resolution having been proposed embodying these sentiments, the Speaker, when moved to put the question, refused to do so, saying he was 'otherwise commanded by the King.' Then rose Mr. Selden and said:—

'Dare not you, Mr. Speaker, put the question when we command you? If you will not put it, we must sit still; thus we shall never be able to do anything. We sit here by command of the King, under the great seal, and you are sitting in his Majesty's chair before both Houses, appointed our Speaker; and now you refuse to perform your office!'

The Speaker, however, still declined to put the question, so the House adjourned for a week, and met again on the following Monday, but with no better result; for on reassembling, the Speaker repeated his orders, and at the same time informed the members that the King had adjourned the House until March 10. A scene of great confusion now ensued, and on the Speaker rising to leave the chair, two or three members seized hold and forcibly detained him in it, whilst the following protest was agreed to and passed:—

'1. Whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion, or seek to extend Popery or Arminianism, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this kingdom.—2. Whosoever shall advise the taking and levying of the subsidies of tonnage and poundage not being granted by Parliament shall be likewise so considered.—3. If any person shall voluntarily yield to pay such,

he shall likewise be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy of the same.'

Whilst this was being enacted, the King, who had heard what was going on, sent for the Sergeant-at-Arms; the messenger, however, was unable to communicate with him, in consequence of the doors of the House being locked, so his Majesty sent the Usher of the Lords, but with no better success, for this messenger was also refused audience until the vote had been read and passed. When, at length, he gained admittance, the subject of his message was, to inform the members that the King had dissolved the Parliament.

A few days later the King issued a proclamation, wherein he explained and justified the dismissal of the House, closing with the following significant sentence:—

'We and our royal authority have been so highly condemned as our kingly office cannot bear, nor any former age can parallel. . . . We thought it good to give notice to whom it may concern, that they may depart about their needful affairs without attending any longer here; nevertheless, we will that they and all others take notice, that we do and ever will distinguish between those who have showed good affection and those who have given themselves over to faction. . . . We mean some vipers who must look for their reward of punishment.'

The threat thus conveyed was speedily carried into execution, for warrants were issued to apprehend Denzil Hollis, Sir Miles Hobart, Sir John Eliot, Sir Peter Hayman, John Selden, W. Coriton, Walter

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Lang, W. Strood, and Benjamin Valentine, Esquires, who were forthwith committed to the Tower, from which they were only released by the payment of a heavy fine. Sir John Eliot, however, refusing, was kept prisoner until the day of his death.

Henceforth Charles resolved to rule without a Parliament, and he certainly did, for a space of eleven years, continue to govern the country without having recourse to this constitutional alternative.

The triumph of the High Church party was now complete, and it was with unmeasured satisfaction that Laud again found leisure still further to harass the Puritan ministers, which his late political engagements had interrupted.

Lay impropriations had long been a source of vexation to this prelate, affording, as they did, opportunities for Puritan divines to preach in places otherwise inaccessible. Shortly after the dissolution of Parliament, we find him presenting to the King 'certain considerations concerning an overgrown evil,' as he described it, the nature and origin of which it may here be well to mention. During the last year of King James, a number of influential Puritans, with the celebrated Dr. Preston at their head, struck with the evil consequences to religion the 'Book of Sports' was calculated to produce, bethought themselves of a scheme to counteract the mischief by buying up all the lay impropriations that could be secured. Since that period this had been done to a very considerable extent. As to their origin, it will be recollected that at the suppression of abbeys and monasteries, in 1539, a vast amount of Church property fell to the monarch,

who bestowed portions of the confiscated estates amongst his courtiers. These subsequently became known under the title of lay impropriations.

Twenty years previously, the Puritans, at the Hampton Court Conference, had petitioned that one-seventh of the revenues thus derived might be appropriated to the maintenance of ministers residing in destitute districts, but without avail.

In 1624 subscriptions were commenced, the funds thus raised being invested in feoffees, who bought up the advowsons according as money and opportunities enabled them. Puritan ministers were appointed to them, and the feoffees also engaged other ministers not in full orders to act as lecturers, who visited the towns on market and fair days throughout the country. This was the scheme Laud now undertook to destroy. It required some three or four years to accomplish, but in the end he was completely successful.

These impropriations had long been a source of vexatious annoyance to the prelate, and in a diary he was in the habit of keeping there is an entry, so far back as January 1626:—'Methinks,' he writes, 'I see a cloud arising, and threatening the Church of England. God of His mercy dissipate it!' A month later he adds: 'I gave the King an account of the restoring of the impropriations.'

Having obtained the royal permission to harass and discourage the Puritans, he proceeded to attack them in a vital part. The pulpit had always been a favourite spot, from whence had issued those fervent addresses so loved and listened to by the laity. These he was determined to close altogether on the

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afternoons of Sundays, and in the place of the sermon the Church Catechism was substituted. Those lecturers in deacon's orders employed by the feoffees were also required to wear the surplice when performing Divine Service; but it was not until he became Archbishop, three years later, that his victory was complete, for then, by dint of Star Chamber prosecutions, heavy fines, and ultimate confiscations, he put an end to them. The final entry in his diary on this subject is as follows: 'The feoffees, that pretended to buy in impropriations, were dissolved in the Chequer Chamber. They were the main instruments for the Puritan faction to undo the Church.'

One more noteworthy act of this prelate, before dismissing him for the present, may be mentioned. By way of diverting the minds of the people from grieving over the loss of their lecturers, he procured the King's sanction to republish the 'Book of Sports.' Church-ales had long fallen into disrepute, likewise also 'lawful sports and pastimes' in the parish churchyards after the Sunday afternoon services.

The 'Book of Sports' was to set all these going afresh, and the Judges, when on circuit, were requested to use their influence in restoring the good old custom of church-ales—which, by-the-bye, they thought better honoured in the breach than in the observance, and therefore declined, although urged thereto by the Archbishop and Dr. Pierce, the Bishop of Bath. It is but anticipating a few years the results of such teaching as that of the royal 'Book of Sports,' if we quote the evidence of the Archbishop himself, as to the state of the religious world in general, and

of the Church of England in particular, in the year 1637. 1629

In his annual report to the King, of that year, we read as follows:—

'I found in one half of the churches they had not a clerk able to read and answer the minister in Divine Service, by which means the people were wholly disused from joining with the priest, and in many places from so much as saying "Amen." In my own diocese, I have several years acquainted your Majesty, and so must do now, that there are still divers Brownists and other separatists, but they are so very mean and poor people that I know not what to do with them. How this part came to be infested with such a humour of separation I know not, unless it were by too much connivance at the first beginning. Neither do I see any remedy like to be, unless some of these strife-seducers be driven to abjure the kingdom, which must be done by the judges at the common law, but is not in our power.'

The King's remark to the latter part of the above (written in the margin) is very characteristic: 'Inform me of the particulars, and I shall command the Judges to make them abjure.' 'At Norwich, where there are thirty-four churches,' the report continues, 'there was no sermon on the Sunday morning save only in four, but all put off to the afternoon, and so no catechising.'

It would appear, however, that whilst lay impropriations had been effectually rooted out, Laud was not quite so successful in dealing with the lecturers themselves. 'They abound,' continues the Arch-

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bishop, 'in Suffolk, and many are set up by private gentlemen, even so much as without the knowledge of the ordinary, and without any due observance to the canons or discipline of the Church. At Ipswich it was not unknown to your Majesty how Mr. Ward stands censured in the High Commission, and obeys not; yet the Bishop was ready to have allowed them another, if they would have sought him, but they resolve to have Mr. Ward or none. At Yarmouth, where there was great division heretofore for many years, the lecturer, being censured in the High Commission about two years ago, since went into New England, since which time there hath been no lecturer, and very much peace in the town and all ecclesiastical orders well observed; but in Norwich one Mr. Bridge, rather than he would conform, has left his lecture and two cures, and is gone into Holland.'

The King's remark (in the margin) to this is, 'Let him go; we are well rid of him!'[1]

[1] Harl. MS. 787.

CHAPTER V.

New Charters for Boroughs introduced—Old Sir Oliver Cromwell at Hinchinbrook — Oliver Cromwell settles at St. Ives—His Farming Operations—King James and Laud resort to Monopolies to replenish the Empty Exchequer—Royal Visit to Scotland—Attempt to introduce Episcopacy in Edinburgh—Prynne sentenced to the Pillory—Ship-money Scheme of Noy—John Hampden fined for opposing it—The Puritan Lecturers, and Cromwell's Letter on their Behalf—He removes his Family to Ely on the Death of his Wife's Uncle, Sir Thomas Stuart—Cromwell opposes the Fen Draining Scheme—His Plans for Emigrating (with others) to America frustrated by the Government—Star Chamber Prosecutions—Lilburn, Bastwick, and Burton in the Pillory—Graphic Picture of the Period by Sir Arthur Haselrig—Scene in St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh—Cromwell returned to Parliament Member for Cambridge Town—Debate on Grievances renewed—Parliament Dissolved, and several Offending Members committed to Prison—War breaks out between England and Scotland—Domestic Life of the Royal Family—State of England—Prince Charles and his Tutor.

SHORTLY after the dissolution, the King, no doubt with the object of obtaining control over future Parliamentary elections, called in all the old charters, and in exchange substituted new ones better adapted to his purposes. Huntingdon underwent this change in the year 1630; this fact is important merely in reference to Oliver Cromwell, whom we find mentioned, with Robert Barnard and Dr. Beard, Oliver's old schoolmaster, to serve as Justices of the Peace in the charter.

A dispute of some kind appears to have arisen, shortly after, between Oliver and Barnard—whether

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in the exercise of these magisterial duties or otherwise we are not informed—the result of which was that each denounced the other to the Privy Council; and their neighbour, the Earl of Manchester, was appointed to enquire into and settle the affair, which he succeeded in doing satisfactorily, to judge from the following report to the Privy Council:—'I found Mr. Cromwell willing to hold friendship with Mr. Barnard, who with a good will, remitting the unkind passages past, entertained the same; so I left all parties reconciled.'

Old Sir Oliver had ceased to occupy the family mansion of Hinchinbrook; that estate had passed away for ever from the descendants of the Putney blacksmith. His lavish expenditure had at length brought him to this, and he was forced to remove to a smaller estate at Ramsey-mere, not far distant; here he ended his days, in the year 1654. Fuller mentions that the old knight was remarkable for 'four things—his hospitality, his upright dealings in bargains (for he sold excellent pennyworths), his loyalty, and his vivacity.' To the close of his life he maintained unflinching opposition to the Long Parliament, and, but for the intervention of his nephew on more than one occasion, his remaining estate would have been confiscated, and himself reduced to penury and want.

It is noticeable, if not otherwise remarkable, that the same year in which the uncle forsook the family mansion, the nephew Oliver also left his native town, to settle at St. Ives. Finding a necessity for more active employment than could be enjoyed at

Huntingdon, and having no Parliamentary duties to attend, he decided on parting with his property there, and with the proceeds stocking a farm at St. Ives, five miles distant, whither he removed, with his family, towards the close of the year. Heath's description of Oliver's farming operations deserves insertion; like most of his anecdotes, there is mixed up with it the usual amount of prejudice and improbability: 'Every morning, before the family and the servants stirred out,' continues this biographer, 'they were called together for prayers, at which exercise they continued very often so long, that it was nine o'clock in the morning before they began their work . . . The hinds and ploughmen, seeing the zeal of their master, thought they, too, might borrow the other part of the day for their own pleasure; therefore they went to plough with a pack of cards in their pockets, and, having turned up two or three furrows, sat themselves down again till dinner-time.' Heath, however, omits to tell us, that these same St. Ives ploughmen proved themselves better soldiers than farm-labourers; for, in subsequent times, they were the men who became so celebrated in the civil wars, under the dreaded title of Cromwell's 'Ironsides.'

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His house at St. Ives, remarks another authority,[1] became a retreat for the nonconforming clergy, and he so thoroughly identified himself with their cause, that he became known as the head of the Puritan party of that district. He now began to preach on

[1] Noble's Memoirs.

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sabbath-days to the domestics and other farm-labourers; there was to be seen standing, so late as the latter part of the last century, a building erected for this purpose at the rear of his dwelling.

The five years Oliver spent at St. Ives, occupied in agricultural pursuits, form a blank in his history. We may picture him on market-days visiting Huntingdon and the neighbouring towns, selling grain and cattle, and riding home in the evening through the narrow lanes, moodily meditating on the gloomy prospect the political horizon presented. During these years his attachment to the Established Church was gradually growing less and less, and his presence in the family-pew of the parish church only intermittent. 'They have,' says one of his biographers, 'a tradition at St. Ives, that when he came, he was in the habit of wearing a piece of red flannel round his head and neck, the better to preserve himself from rheumatic attacks, to which he was subject.'

However much the King and his principal adviser (Laud) may have congratulated themselves on their triumph over the Parliament and the Puritans, there was one important department in the State-machine most imperatively calling for immediate attention, and which required all their ingenuity to provide for; the finances were in a state of collapse. How best to remedy this evil became the most pressing question. For immediate purposes, they had recourse to fines and monopolies; the most trifling affair was not thought too insignificant for these manipulations. The manufacture of soap was, for the future, to be-

come a monopoly; playing-cards for the first time paid a duty. If a wealthy man and his family preferred the town-house to his country one, a fine for permission to remain was levied. Another novel expedient was that of levying a tax on all new houses built on the site of old ones in the metropolis. Some fines were made retrospective, as in the case of that one levied on the city, for an occurrence which had taken place within its jurisdiction, five years before, when one Dr. Lamb had been beaten to death in the street. The reason alleged for this tax on the citizens, was for not having been more careful of the preservation of the peace and the lives of his Majesty's subjects.

But the chief reliance Charles had, astonishing as it may appear at the present day, was on his Scotch subjects for granting pecuniary assistance. A visit to Scotland had long been proposed for this object, and, with the aid of funds supplied by fines and monopolies, he was, at length, enabled to carry out these intentions. Two other important objects were also to be accomplished—namely, his coronation in the old palace of Holyrood; and to endeavour, if possible, to root out Presbyterianism, and introduce the Church Prayer Book in its stead. That able but unscrupulous Episcopalian primate, Laud, therefore became a necessary adjunct on this occasion, and he also accompanied his Majesty to the northern metropolis.

Arrived in Scotland, Charles was crowned by the Archbishop at Holyrood, with all due solemnity. Then followed the subsidy, which, we are told, was

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the largest ever granted by the Northern Parliament to any of its monarchs. All did not go on so smoothly, however, with the remaining object of his visit—that which affected the national religion. Here much opposition was encountered, and Charles, for the present, had to limit his innovations to the introduction of the English liturgy in the Chapel Royal at Edinburgh, instead of enforcing it in all other churches.

This slight attempt to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland had all the effect of a more violent effort in prejudicing the minds of the people, as will shortly be seen. The Court, on its return homewards, was entertained with a singular exhibition of Protestant monastic piety in that county of monasteries, Huntingdonshire, which must have gladdened the heart of Laud. A number of individuals had banded themselves together, at a place called Little Gidding, under the guidance and headship of one Nicholas Ferrar, where they kept up, night and day, a continual repetition of the English liturgy, in a chapel devoted to that purpose. Upwards of eighty persons were engaged in this establishment, the greater part occupied in binding Prayer-books and embroidering church hassocks.

On the return of the Court from Scotland, it soon became evident that the future government of this country was to be carried on through the medium of the Star Chamber. This court had been instituted by Henry VII., contrary to Magna Charta; it was composed of a Committee selected from the privy councillors; they were governed by no rules or laws,

yet decided cases brought before them, involving the security both of life and property. It was through the instrumentality of this tribunal that the Tudors and the early Stuarts perpetrated most of their arbitrary and violent enactments, and to the existence of this court may be ascribed the aversion those monarchs displayed to the more constitutional forms of government.

This year (viz. 1632) Prynne, a Puritan barrister of Lincoln's Inn, incurred the displeasure of the Court for publishing a book against theatres and stage performances of plays, by which he involved himself in a Star Chamber prosecution, when he was sentenced to the pillory, to have his ears cut off, imprisonment for life, and a fine of 5,000*l.*

The next notable act of the Star Chamber was the tax of ship-money—a scheme devised by the Attorney-General (Noy), the last and most fatal of all his financial inventions, and the one which ultimately proved the most disastrous to his royal master. Noy, however, did not live to lament the consequences, for he died shortly after. The Judges, on being consulted by the King as to the legality of this tax, gave the following extraordinary decision: 'When the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the kingdom in danger, your Majesty may command all your subjects to provide and maintain ships, men, victuals, and munition, and that your Majesty is the *sole judge*, both of the danger, and *when* the same is to be prevented and avoided.'

These were gloomy times for England, when her

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ancient guardians, the keepers and preservers of law, turned aside and forsook their trust. Old Sir Edward Coke must have keenly felt this last judicial suicide as he lay on his deathbed in Norfolk, where he shortly after expired, in his eighty-fifth year.

One patriot there was, however, bold enough to come to the front, notwithstanding the decision of the Judges, and resist the payment of this unjust tax. John Hampden was that man. We need not detain the reader with the arguments used in the long trial which ensued. Hampden's case was a strong one; it rested on Magna Charta and the subsequent statutes, whilst that for the Crown relied on precedents established by former monarchs. From the recent opinion already given by the Judges, we learn with no surprise that their decision went against Hampden, who was condemned in heavy costs.

We may easily imagine with what interest these proceedings must have been watched by the Huntingdonshire farmer. Cromwell and Hampden, it will be recollected, were first-cousins; they were, besides, bound to each other by strong political and religious ties. History, however, is altogether silent as to what his views were on this event, and the only trace we have of him at this period is contained in the following letter, which shows that the writer was more concerned about religion than occupied in political agitations. It appears that, in spite of Laud and the Star Chamber, there were still to be found, among the old Puritan lecturers, some who continued to itinerate as preachers in country places, regardless of State prosecutions. The citizens of London had long been the munificent

supporters of this class. A lecturer had hitherto been employed in Oliver's district, but the withdrawal of the funds necessary for his support being threatened. Cromwell wrote as follows :— CHAP. V. 1636

'*To Mr. Storie,*

'*At the sign of the Dog in the Royal Exchange.*

'Among the catalogue of those good works which your fellow-citizens and our countrymen have done, this will not be reckoned for the least, that they have provided for the feeding of souls. Building of hospitals provides for men's bodies ; to build material temples is judged a work of piety ; but they that procure spiritual food, they that build up spiritual temples, they are the men truly charitable—truly pious. Such a work as this was your erecting the lecture in our county, in the which you placed Dr. Wells, a man of goodness and industry, and able to do good every way, not short of any I know in England ; and I am persuaded that, sithence his coming, the Lord hath by him wrought much good among us.

'It only remains now that He who first moved you to this, put you forward in the continuance thereof ; it was the Lord, and therefore to Him lift we up our hearts that He would perfect it. And surely, Mr. Storie, it were a piteous thing to see a lecture fall, in the hands of so many able and godly men as I am persuaded the founders of this are, in these times, wherein we see they are suppressed with too much haste and violence by the enemies of God's truth. Far be it that so much guilt should stick to your

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hands, who live in a city so renowned for the clear shining light of the Gospel. You know, Mr. Storie, to withdraw the pay is to let fall the lecture, for who goeth to warfare at his own cost? I beseech you, therefore, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, put it forward, and let the good man have his pay. The souls of God's children will bless you for it, and so shall I; and ever rest,

'Your loving friend in the Lord,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'[1]

Very shortly after, Cromwell—in consequence of the death of his wife's uncle, Sir Thomas Stuart of Ely, who had just died and left him a property of some 400*l.* or 500*l.* a year—gave up the farm at St. Ives, and removed with his family to Ely, Mrs. Cromwell's native city.

Heath relates a very improbable tale, in reference to an occurrence which he says took place some years previous, when the uncle had been suspected of suffering from mental affliction. Oliver at that time (says Heath) sought to take out a commission of lunacy against him. If such had been the case, Sir Thomas must have been convinced that it was in no hostile spirit, or he would never have left him, as he did, the bulk of his property.

The draining of the Fens, begun several years before this by order of the Government, had given great dissatisfaction in the district. An organised opposition was therefore got up, in which Cromwell, when he settled in the city of Ely, took a leading part.

[1] Cromwell's Letters and Speeches.

The resistance was successful, and the draining was discontinued. Oliver's share in the matter proved of great service to him at the next general election. In the order of time, it is to be noticed that it was about this period that several influential families, tired of arbitrary rule, decided on leaving England, and settling in America; they were, however, prevented by an Order in Council, or rather proclamation, forbidding any person to leave the country without a royal license. Among those who sought to fly, we are told, were Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. Hampden, and Oliver Cromwell.

Violence and oppression continued to mark the period of Laud's supremacy. The pillory was resorted to for the most trifling offences. Lilburn, for publishing a pamphlet without a license, was sentenced to be whipped from Fleet Prison to Westminster, there to stand in the pillory, and afterwards to suffer fine and imprisonment. Whilst his head was in the pillory, he uttered many bold speeches (says Rushworth) against his Star Chamber persecutors, and scattered sundry copies of the pamphlet; but he was speedily silenced by the Council, who ordered him to be gagged, and irons to be put on his hands and feet. His imprisonment lasted until the Long Parliament met.

Three other individuals occupying a prominent position came under the searching eyes of the Star Chamber about the same time, and suffered accordingly. These were William Prynne, a barrister; John Bastwick, a physician; and Henry Burton, a clergyman.

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They were indicted for publishing libels reflecting on the hierarchy, and sentenced to fine, imprisonment, and to have their ears cut off. Prynne already knew something about this latter infliction; what, however, still remained of those useful appendages the executioner, we are informed, 'sawed rather than cut off.' 'Cut me—tear me!' he cried; 'I fear not thee; I fear the fire of hell, not thee.' Burton's ominous words, when undergoing this part of the sentence, were—'*It is too hot to last.*' Bastwick's wife attended her husband to the pillory, or scaffold, where this part of the sentence was performed, and received his bloodstained ears in her lap, and 'lovingly kissed him.'

It was now perilous to oppose the tyranny of the Court, and few there were who ventured to do it. Sir Arthur Haselrig, one of the five members in the Long Parliament who fell under the wrathful displeasure of the King, gives a graphic picture of the period which intervened between the third Parliament of Charles and the celebrated Long Parliament :—

'The Council-table bit like a serpent,' he writes, 'and the Star Chamber like scorpions. So small a number as two or three gentlemen could not stir out for fear of being committed for a riot. Our souls and consciences were put on the rack by the Archbishop. We might not speak of Scripture or repeat a sermon at our tables. Many godly men were sent to find their beds in the wilderness. The oppression was a little less in the lower courts, and in the special courts. . .

'Altars were set up, and bowing to them enjoined; pictures were placed in church-windows, and images

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set up at Durham, and elsewhere. The Archbishop would not only impose upon England, but on Scotland, to bring in the Book of Common Prayer upon them; they liked it not, and, as luck would have it, they would not hear it. He prevailed on the King to raise an army to suppress them . . . The King went to their country, and finding himself unable to conquer their country, he came back. He called a Parliament which was named the "Little," disbanded not his army, but propounded we [the Parliament] should give him a great sum to maintain the war against Scotland. We debated it, but the cause of our debate made him fear we would not grant the money. It was then that Strafford advised him to break us, and rule arbitrarily, for that he [Strafford] had an army in Ireland to make it [stand] good.'

Within a month after the scene of the pillory in Palace Yard, the threatened attempt to introduce the Prayer Book into Scotland, alluded to by Haselrig, took place. Easter Sunday had been originally fixed, but this was altered to the Sunday (July 23) following. It was in the parish church of St. Giles's, Edinburgh, that, according to Rushworth, the following disturbance, consequent on this step, occurred:—

No sooner was the book opened by the Dean, when a number of people, chiefly women, commenced clapping their hands. The Bishop of Edinburgh, thinking to appease the tumult, stepped into the pulpit; but his head had scarcely appeared above the surface, when a three-legged stool was thrown, which narrowly missed him. After much confusion and noise, the bailiffs succeeded in clearing the congregation out of the

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church, and closing the doors; the service was then continued, in the presence of the few orderly persons who remained, whilst the multitude outside crowded the windows, crying out, 'A Pope—a Pope! Antichrist! Pull him down!'

So ungrateful a recognition of the King's good intentions in introducing the Prayer Book was not to be tolerated. 'Out of our princely care,' said his Majesty, in his proclamation to the Scottish nation, 'and for beating down superstition, we have ordained a Book of Common Prayer.' Accordingly, the next two years were spent in the fruitless effort to introduce Episcopacy into Scotland, until at length, wearied at his failures, he decided on going to war for this object. In order, however, to carry out this intention, he had no other alternative but that of appealing to Parliament for the necessary funds.

In this Parliament, which met on April 13, Cromwell took his place as member for Cambridge *town*, John Hampden sate for Buckinghamshire; two other kinsmen of Cromwell were also returned — viz., Thomas Barrington for Essex, and William Masham for Colchester.

Instead of taking the Subsidy Bill first, as the King hoped they would, the House, as on former occasions, proceeded to debate on their grievances, especially that of ship-money, and the late trial consequent thereon. Five days, however, had not elapsed before they were summoned to attend at Whitehall, when the Lord Keeper told them, in the presence and by order of his Majesty, that the army which was now marching against Scotland was costing his

Majesty 100,000*l.* a month, and that without funds to meet this expense the design must be lost. He concluded by adding: 'His Majesty doth now offer to you the reasons, occasions, and the way to make this the most blessed and most happy Parliament that ever was, and that may produce effects such as that the King may delight in his people, and the people in their King.'

The House was not, however, to be diverted from the examination into grievances, either by the presence or the arguments of the King; and the enquiry continued until May 4, when Sir Harry Vane was sent with a message from the King, worded as follows: 'His Majesty, the better to facilitate your resolution, this day hath thought fit to let you know that, of his grace and favour, he is pleased, upon your granting *twelve* subsidies, to be presently passed, and to be paid in three years, with a proviso that it shall not determine the Session, his Majesty will also not only forbear the levying of ship-money, but will give way to the utter abolishing of it, by any course that yourselves shall like best.'

The House not acquiescing at once to this proposal, the King was unfortunately advised by Laud to dissolve it the day following; at the same time his Majesty proceeded to arrest several of the members who had made themselves obnoxious to the Council, and on their refusing to answer questions concerning things done in Parliament, they were committed to prison. Clarendon states that the King had no sooner taken the unfortunate step of dissolving the House, than he desired to undo what he had done, and the

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day following consulted with the Council whether it was not within his prerogative to call the late members again together.

The Exchequer—which had been temporarily replenished by loans borrowed from the Lords of the Council, in anticipation of the grant from Parliament, (towards which Lord Strafford alone subscribed 20,000*l.*)—was again in a state of collapse. So desperate were financial affairs, that the King, in the meantime, bought up on credit all the pepper in the hands of the merchants, and sold it again at a loss for ready money; and the Convocation of the clergy, which hitherto had terminated with the Parliament, was permitted to sit a month longer, for the purpose of voting supplies. Before breaking up, they granted the King six subsidies, payable during six years, each estimated to produce 20,000*l.*

The extortion of ship-money was also continued, so that, by these and other extraordinary methods, the army destined to operate against Scotland was got together. Charles vainly thought that he had only to make his appearance in that country, when all opposition would instantly cease; but no sooner had he approached the frontiers, when, to his amazement, he found that the Scots, after routing his army at the passage of the Tyne, had invaded England, and taken Newcastle, from whence they published a manifesto, declaring that their object was not hostility towards their brethren of England, but only to defend themselves against their sworn enemies, the Earl of Strafford and the Archbishop of Canterbury. They further asserted that the King had been the

aggressor, for, instead of permitting the General Assembly, as was agreed upon, to regulate the affairs of their Church, subject to the ratification of their own Parliament, he had denied audience to the deputies from their Parliament. In conclusion, they reminded the English nation that *their* liberties were threatened equally with those of Scotland. This telling truth found a response throughout the length and breadth of the land, greatly to the damage of the royal cause—more so, perhaps, than all other circumstances put together. Following up their advantages, they at the same time humbly petitioned the King not to make war upon them, but to recall the declaration which charged them as being traitors, and to convene the English Parliament for counsel and advice. This latter was so fully in accordance with the people, whom the Scots were anxious to gain over, that the initiative was taken by the Corporation of London, who sent a petition to the King, then at York, to that effect, wherein they recounted the pressing and unusual impositions merchants were suffering, from ship-money, monopolies, and patents, the innovations in religion, the increase of Papists, and, above all, 'the seldom calling and sudden dissolutions of Parliament.'

This petition was followed by another, to the same purport, presented in the name of twelve Peers. In his answer to the latter, the King replied that, 'Before the receipt thereof His Majesty well foresaw the danger that threatened himself and crown, and therefore resolved to summon all the Peers to his presence on September 24, and with them to consult

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what in this case is fittest to be done for his honour and the safety of the kingdom.'

At this great Council of the Peers, which met at York, it was decided that Commissioners to settle with the Scots should be appointed. The King however, in the meantime, finding how great was the desire for a Parliament, anticipated the advice of the Peers, by summoning the members to meet at Westminster on November 3 ensuing.

Of the domestic life of the Royal Family at this crisis, but little is known. Henrietta was doubtless occupied in the cares of a young family; Prince Charles was now in his eighth year, his younger brother (James) five. Greenwich and Whitehall were the favourite residences of the Court; but there were, besides, other palaces at Oatlands, Hampton Court, Nonsuch, and Wimbledon Park, at one or other of which they were accustomed to pass many days in happy tranquillity and retirement.

The Manor House at Wimbledon Park had been given by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Cecil, by whom it was rebuilt in 1588. Reverting subsequently by purchase, it had been settled on Queen Henrietta, who was much attached to it; thither Charles I. and his family frequently enjoyed the simple pleasures of a country life. It was famous for its horticultural and floral productions. Among the last instructions which the unfortunate monarch Charles gave, a few days before his trial, was an order to plant some seeds of a particular kind of melon in the garden. The state of the roads in the neighbourhood of Lon-

don, in the days of Elizabeth and her immediate successors, must have presented a striking contrast to the present state of things; for it is mentioned that on the occasion of Queen Elizabeth going to Nonsuch, after visiting Lord Burleigh at Wimbledon, the churchwardens of Kingston spent the sum of twenty pence 'in mending the ways.' Locomotion, in distant journeys, was accomplished on horseback. Hackney-coaches long continued to be regarded as a useless innovation, and Orders in Council frequently passed to check their use. Thus, in 1635, an order was passed forbidding the hire of any hackney-coach, unless it was required to go three miles beyond the boundaries of London and Westminster. The owners were also constantly to keep four horses for the use of his Majesty. In the preamble it stated that hackney-coaches were a 'great disturbance to the King, Queen, and nobility, besides making hay and provender dear.'

Young Prince Charles was residing this year at Hampton Court, with his governor, Lord Newcastle. A series of interesting letters, written about this period by the Prince and Queen Henrietta, may be seen in the British Museum; in one from the Queen to her young son, wherein she chides him for not taking his medicine, she writes:—

'Charles, I am sore that I must begin my first letter with chiding you because that you will not take physic. I hope it was only for this day, and that to-morrow you will do it: for if you will not, I must come to you and make you take it, for it is for your

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health. I have given orders to my Lord Newcastle, to send me word whether you will or not. I hope you will not give me the pains to go; and so I rest, your affectionate mother,

'HENRIETTA MARIE R.'[1]

The following is from the Prince to his governor:—

'I would not have *you* take too much physic, for it doth always make me worse, and I think will do the like with you.

'I ride every day, and am ready to follow any other directions from you. Make haste to return to him that loves you.

'CHARLES P.'

In another letter to the same nobleman, he says: 'I pray make an end of your physic, that I may sooner have your company. I thank you for the play; I like it so well that I desire to see it again when I come to London.'

[1] Harl. MSS. 6998.

CHAPTER VI.

Laud in his Study—Gloomy Prognostics more than realised—Laud and Strafford deserted by the King—The Long Parliament assembles—Petition of the Star-Chamber Victims presented by Cromwell—Cromwell's Appearance in the House described by Sir Philip Warwick—Oliver St. John made Solicitor-General—Assent of the King to the Bill for holding Triennial Parliaments, and His Majesty's Speech thereon—Laud and Strafford sent to the Tower—Opposition to Popery—Severe Enactments against the Papists—The King intercedes in vain with the Parliament in favour of Strafford—The Bill depriving the Monarch of the Power to dissolve Parliament at Pleasure receives the Royal Assent—Episcopacy attacked in the House—The Queen and her Confessors—Letter of Father Phillips—The King goes to Scotland—A Parliamentary Committee appointed to accompany His Majesty—Debates in the House during the Past Session—Cromwell's celebrated Remark to Lord Falkland—Pacific Policy of the King on his Return from Scotland—Rushworth's Account of the Banquet at Guildhall—Popularity of King Charles at this Period—Unfortunate Policy towards the Parliament—His Reception of the Deputation at Hampton Court—His Majesty's Answer to the Remonstrance—The Outbreak of the Irish Rebellion—Terrible Cruelties of the Rebels—Tumultuous Mob Assemblies at Whitehall—Unpopular Choice of a New Governor of the Tower—Accusation against the Five Members by the King, and Violent Proceedings adopted towards Others—Conference between the Two Houses—The King suddenly appears in the House of Commons—His Majesty's Speech, in which he demands the Surrender of the Offending Members—The House adjourns to Guildhall—The King follows up his Demand in the City—Remonstrance of the Citizens, and the Reply of His Majesty—The House complains of Breach of Privilege—Return to Westminster—A Conciliatory Message sent by His Majesty—Perseverance of the Commons, and Retreat of the King from his False Position—Unfortunate Decision of the Monarch to seek Foreign Aid—The Queen escapes to Holland, taking the Crown Jewels—The King goes to York—Message from the Parliament to His Majesty—The Royal Answer—Approach of Civil War—The Militia called out.

It was within a week of the meeting of the celebrated Long Parliament, that one afternoon, Laud, on entering

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his study, was startled at the discovery that his portrait, which hung over the fireplace, had fallen to the ground. This circumstance appears to have made a deep impression on his mind, to judge from the following entry in his diary: '*October* 27, *Tuesday*.—St. Simon and St. Jude's eve. I went into my upper study, and coming in, I found my picture fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor. God grant this be no omen!' A brief period of little more than two months, those gloomy forebodings were more than realised, as will be seen by the following entry in the same journal: '*Friday*, *December* 18.—I was accused by the House of Commons of high treason, upon which I was presently committed to the Gentleman Usher.'

The crisis had arrived, and the struggle, which had been so long at issue between the King and the Commons, had resulted in the triumph of the latter. Charles, unable to prosecute the war in Scotland, or to meet his expenses at home, came at length to the conclusion that there was no other way open to him but that of endeavouring to pacify the Parliament, by the sacrifice of his two favourites, Laud and Strafford. It was a poor reward for those devoted servants, after the years they had spent in his service, thus to be deserted in their hour of need, in the vain hope of diverting the attention of an angry nation; but the House of Commons was well known to be decidedly hostile to the Court, and among the most prominent of the national grievances were the supposed evil counsels and ecclesiastical tyranny of these two ministers.

Events moved rapidly in the early days of the

Long Parliament, which met on November 3. Scarcely had Laud's committal taken place, when popular feeling displayed itself in numerously-signed petitions, from all parts of the country, against that prelate and his offending episcopal brethren. The inhabitants of London sent in one, endorsed by upwards of fifteen thousand signatures, praying for a reformation of the Bishops, and of Church ceremonies; this was ably seconded, a week after, by the clergymen of the Established Church, who, to the number of 7,000, signed another petition, preferring a similar request.

Shortly after the House met, the City of London carried out their proposal of granting the loan they had promised, of 200,000*l*., conditional on a Parliament being assembled, which proved most opportune, in the then exhausted state of the Exchequer.

We fail to discover Cromwell taking an active part during the early portion of the Session, nor does his name appear on any of the several Committees at first appointed. One circumstance, however, brought him prominently forward, for among those ready to take advantage of the political changes of the day, were those unfortunate victims of the Star Chamber, Bastwick, Burton, Prynne, and Lilburn, who now made themselves heard from their prison-houses in the Channel Islands, and Oliver Cromwell himself presented the petition of the latter. It must have been on this occasion, probably, that Sir Philip Warwick first listened to the future Protector speaking in the House of Commons, which he described as follows:—

'I have no mind to give an ill character of Crom-

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well, for in his conversation towards me he was ever friendly; though at the latter end of the day, finding me ever incorrigible, and having some inducements to suspect me a tamperer, he was sufficiently rigid. The first time that ever I took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes). I came one morning into the House well-clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar. His hat was without a hatband; his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for his subject-matter would not bear much of reason; it being on behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the Queen, for her dancing, and suchlike innocent and courtly sports. . . . I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence for that great Council, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill-will to him I thus describe, by multiplied successes, and by real but usurped power (having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company), appear of a great and majestic deportment, and comely presence.'[1]

[1] Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 247. (London, 1701.)

It would appear that Charles was not altogether averse, at this period, to calling into his councils men of more popular tendencies than those who hitherto had been selected, if we may judge by the fact of Oliver St. John being chosen Solicitor-General. This pleasing and significant deference to public opinion, had it been followed by similar appointments from among the leading Puritans at this particular crisis, might have averted the misery which the contrary policy entailed. St. John was a kinsman of Cromwell by marriage, and member for Totnes.

Contemporaneously, however, with this disposition on his part, there were, unfortunately, on the part of the House of Commons, violent enactments passed, which trenched upon the prerogatives of the Crown, and such as no monarch could tamely submit to except under circumstances, as in the present position of affairs, he deemed it necessary on the ground of expediency.

The Bill to deprive the King of the power to dissolve Parliament at discretion is an instance, and others might be quoted.

On February 15, the Bill for holding Triennial Parliaments received the royal assent, on which occasion the King, in his speech, remarked:—

'You have taken the government all to pieces; I may say it is almost off the hinges. A skilful watchmaker, to make clean his watch, will take it asunder; and when it is put together, it will go the better, so that he leave not one pin of it out. Now, as I have done all this on my part, you know what to do on yours.'

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Both Houses, we are told, were full of joy at this measure, and waited upon the King to return their 'humble thanks' for the same. Bonfires blazed forth that night all over the metropolis, and the church-bells rang forth a merry peal in honour of the occasion.

Laud and Strafford were both in the Tower—the former under the charge of having endeavoured to subvert the laws of England, by introducing 'an arbitrary and tyrannous government, for which object he had caused sermons to be preached throughout the country, and had endeavoured to interrupt the courts of justice in the lawful exercise of their functions.'

He was also charged with publishing a Book of Canons without lawful warrant, and of appointing men as domestic chaplains, who were 'notoriously disaffected to the Reformed religion as by law established,' and of silencing orthodox ministers; finally, that he sought to introduce 'innovations' into Scotland in religious matters—a grave list of charges to answer in the temper of the country, which he failed to accomplish, as will be seen hereafter.

It is curious to notice the sensitive state of men's minds, on any matter directly or indirectly connected with religion. Sir John Lamb, we are told, 'was brought upon his knees, at the Commons' bar, for levying money on people for the purpose of setting up organs'; and a complaint was also made against Dr. Cousins, for causing 2,000*l.* to be spent in setting up images and other innovations in Durham Cathedral, and providing a 'holy consecrated knife to cut the communion bread.' The dread of Popery was ever before the eyes of our Puritan ancestors, and

when Mr. Pym asserted 'the desperate designs formed, both at home and abroad, against the Parliament and the peace of the nation,' it required no fan to set the House in a blaze for Protestant ascendancy, which showed itself in a resolution, or rather 'a protestation, passed *nem. con.*, to uphold the Church of England against Popery.' The Queen was said to have been personally engaged in concocting Popish plots. The Lord Mayor of London received a command to supply a list of all Papists residing in and about the metropolis, and an order for their sudden disarmament was passed. A Bill was also introduced to prevent barges or lighters plying on the river, unloading or discharging their cargoes, on a Sabbath-day as heretofore.

An agreement to the protestation of the Commons was required from all persons of position and influence throughout the kingdom, and whosoever refused was to be notified as disaffected to the Parliament.

Strafford's trial had been prejudiced by the unfortunate attempt on the part of the Crown to let the prisoner escape, the Lieutenant of the Tower confessing that he had received a command to admit 100 soldiers. The King made one other effort to save the life of his able but erring servant, in a letter to the House of Lords, wherein he says: 'I did yesterday satisfy the justice of the kingdom by passing the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford; but mercy being as inseparable to a king as justice, I desire to show that likewise, by suffering the unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment: to this end I do earnestly desire your approbation.'

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This unfortunate minister being found guilty, sentence of death quickly followed; and he was beheaded on Tower Hill, on May 12 following.

His pathetic appeal to the House of Lords, on behalf of his children, had not been in vain. 'Seeing that it is the will of God,' he says in his last address, 'that your petitioner is shortly to pay that duty which we all owe to our frail nature, he shall, in all Christian patience and charity, conform and submit himself to your justice . . . only he humbly craves leave to return your Lordships his most humble thanks for your noble compassion towards those innocent children, whom now, with his last blessing, he must commit to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching your Lordships to finish his pious intentions towards them.'

Two days before this tragedy occurred, the King sanctioned a Bill, which ultimately proved one of the most disastrous to himself of all his proceedings. It was the assent he gave to an Act depriving him of the power to dissolve Parliament without the consent of the House of Commons. It affords a striking proof of the want of confidence felt in the good faith of the monarch when so unconstitutional a measure became the law of the land.

The triumphant Commons next proceeded to condemn the Star Chamber and the ship-money tax; both were suppressed, and declared illegal.

Episcopacy of the Laudean type having, of course, long been obnoxious, the Puritans, who now had a majority in the House, next attacked that institution. A Bill was prepared, accordingly, embracing most

extensive reforms. The preamble will show the nature of the reform contemplated:—'Whereas the government of the Church of England by archbishops and bishops, their chancellors and commissioners, deans, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers, hath been found by long experience to be a great impediment to the perfect reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of the kingdom,' &c.

It would appear that the Queen suffered much public obloquy at this period—partly, no doubt, arising from her ardent attachment to the Roman Catholic faith, and the numerous staff of Romish priests and confessors she kept about the Court. One of her confessors has recorded his impressions of the position of the Royal Family, in the following extract from a letter written to one Walter Montague in France:—

'The good King and Queen are left very naked. . . . Can the good King of France suffer a daughter of France, his sister, and her children to be thus affronted? . . . A stirring active ambassador might do good here . . . The Londoners, who are very boisterous, came up on Monday, five or six thousand (in number), and were so rude that they would not suffer the Lords to come or go to their houses . . . God knows the King is much dejected! Our good Queen is much afflicted.'

Towards the end of July, the Parliament having completely ventilated all their grievances, and, what was more to the point, obtained the royal assent to certain measures framed to lessen or redress them,

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the King now found leisure to undertake a journey to Scotland, which he accordingly did the month following, but it was not without some misgivings on the part of those now in the ascendant as to the object the monarch had in this visit; and with a view to prevent any misunderstanding, as also to counteract evil counsel in the North, they succeeded in obtaining a Parliamentary Committee to accompany his Majesty, greatly however to his disgust and annoyance.

A glance at the debates in the House of Commons during this Session will suffice to show the temper as well as the determination of the members to resist whatever emanated from the throne or the episcopacy. Matters, trifling and insignificant in themselves, in reference to parish affairs were entertained by petition, which otherwise might have been settled by calling in the aid of the magistrate or the policeman. Thus, for instance, the inhabitants of a London parish complain, in their petition, 'of certain persons who had entered the church, broken down and carried away the rails of the communion-table, and removed the table to the centre of the church.' The Judges were directed so to dispose of their business on the Saturday as to enable them to avoid Sunday travelling; the afternoon lectures on the Lord's-day were ordered to be recommenced, and the rector or vicar was directed not to interfere with those who were appointed lecturers, unless they themselves preferred to undertake the duty. Protectionists had cause to quake for their privileges. The soap monopolies were declared illegal, and were therefore abolished. The farmers of the King's customs, fearing for their illgotten wealth, were glad to

compromise by submitting to a heavy fine. Petitions were presented, praying that titles of honour might no longer be bought and sold. But the chief business of the House, during the King's absence, appears to have been that of preparing a grand remonstrance, to be presented on his return. It was an elaborate state-paper, setting forth all the illegal and oppressive acts of the monarch, extending over several previous years, and comprised in 206 articles. The debate on this subject was a most exciting one; it began at three o'clock, and lasted until ten the next morning, when the remonstrance was carried by a majority of nine only.

Oliver Cromwell is said to have remarked to Lord Falkland, as they were leaving the House after the division, that 'if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more.'

There can be no doubt that the decision to which the House had just come was, in its consequences, most unfortunate. Since the commencement of the Session, the King had accepted every measure they had proposed; therefore, to recapitulate all the grievances of the past, which, by the subsequent acts of his Majesty, were in a certain measure condoned, was, to say the least of it, illtimed and unnecessary; it was, moreover, expressed in intemperate, offensive, and aggressive language. What made the measure more repulsive, was the conduct of the House in causing its publication previous to being submitted to his Majesty; and this accounts for much of the irritation displayed by the King, a few days later, in the impolitic

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and unwise course he adopted towards the Parliament.

To render himself personally popular with the nation, and at the same time to isolate the House of Commons from all public sympathy, appears to have been the line of policy Charles proposed to himself in the present emergency. Accordingly, on his return from Scotland, three days after the debate on the remonstrance, he accepted a grand banquet, to which he had been invited at Guildhall, as he passed through the city.

A description of this entertainment, as given by Rushworth and Nalson, is worth inserting. The Sheriffs of London met his Majesty at Stamford Hill; they were attended by seventy-two men, in scarlet cloaks. From Kingsland a new road was made through the fields for the occasion, which led direct to Moorgate. At the moment the King approached the public conduits, claret-wine flowed therefrom. The banquet, 'a right royal one, was furnished with four courses, the first consisting of fifty dishes of cold meats, such as brawn, fish, and cold baked meats planted upon the garnish or side-table. The other three were composed of all sorts of fish, fowl, and flesh, to the number of 120 dishes of the choicest viands that could be procured.' 'After which' (continues Nalson) 'was served up a most excellent and well-ordered banquet of all sorts of sweetmeats and confections, wet and dry.' 'The meat' (says Rushworth) 'was served up by the citizens, who stood close to each other, dressed in their gowns and hoods on each side of the hall, passing the dishes

from hand to hand.' At the conclusion the King knighted the Lord Mayor's son-in-law, and at four o'clock their Majesties went westward, going by Cheapside and St. Paul's Churchyard. On passing the south porch of the cathedral, the church choir, in their robes, met the royal procession, and sang the National Anthem, accompanied by 'sackbuts and cornets.' Proceeding through Fleet Street, the Strand, to Whitehall, the windows being thronged with people, and the citizens' houses decked with rich tapestry, 'the King returned to the royal abode at Whitehall.'

So great was the King's popularity at this moment, that a few days later a petition from the citizens was presented, praying 'that it might stand with his Majesty's good pleasure to make his residence at the palace of Whitehall during this season of the year—your Majesty's presence being very joyful to us, and your royal residence will give a quickening to the retailing trade.' As now, so of old, the citizens, in the midst of their loyalty, had an eye to business, but this enthusiasm for royalty was not destined to last.

Secure as the King thought himself in the affections of his people, he now turned his attention to the refractory Commons, meditating how most effectively he could stamp out the spirit of rebellion and opposition so recently displayed on the part of that assembly. Whilst in Scotland, he made a discovery that the encouragement the Scots had received in their late resistance to Episcopacy came from the very men now foremost in the House with the remonstrance. There is every probability, in fact, that when he reached London his mind was quite

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made up, and he came prepared to strike the decisive blow, which followed a few days later. The successful issue of the Guildhall banquet all the more confirmed him in the opinion that he had the people with him, and that the time had arrived when he could bid defiance to the refractory members at Westminster.

Determined to thwart the Commons in every possible way, he accepted the formal resignation of the popular Commander of the Forces, the Earl of Essex, and dismissed the guard from their attendance on the House.

This latter act greatly offended the members, who petitioned to be allowed their guard as formerly: the King for some time refused, but at length told them they might employ the trainbands for that purpose. Objecting, however, to see about the precincts of the House, a body of men not immediately under their control, this offer was declined, and the matter dropped. The remonstrance was again taken up, and a deputation appointed to wait upon his Majesty with that important document. The King, meanwhile, had removed to Hampton Court Palace, and thither Sir Ralph Hopton, with the other members of the deputation, proceeded. Sir Ralph Hopton, in his report of what took place at this interview, made the following statement to the House:—

'Last night he and those that accompanied him came into Hampton Court, where, meeting with Sir Richard Wynn, he went into his Majesty, and gave him notice of our being there; and within a quarter of an hour, the King sent a gentleman-usher to call us

in, with directions for none to come in but ourselves; whereupon I did according to your order, and the rest with me upon our knees, presenting the petition and remonstrance, and began to read it kneeling; but his Majesty would not permit that, but commanded us to rise, and so I read it.

'The first thing to which his Majesty spake was that which charges a malignant party to be about his Majesty with a design to change religion, to which the King, with hearty fervency, said: "The devil take him, whomsoever he be, that has a design to change religion." After the reading of the petition, his Majesty said he desired to ask us some questions, but I answered that we had no power to speak to anything. Then said the King, "Does the House intend to publish this declaration?" We said we could not answer it. "Well then," said his Majesty, "I suppose you do not expect an answer from me to so long a petition. But this let me tell you, I have left Scotland well in peace; they are well satisfied with me, and I with them; and, though I staid longer than I intended, I think that if I had not gone you had not been so soon rid of the army. I shall give you an answer to this business with as much speed as the weight thereof will permit." And so was pleased to give us his hand to kiss, and thereupon we took our leave; and afterwards Mr. Comptroller came to us with this message, that the King desired there should be no publishing of this declaration till we had received his answer. We were all that night treated by Mr. Comptroller at supper, and entertained with great respect, and lodged in the King's harbinger.'

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The King's answer to the remonstrance, although dated December 1, was not received by the Commons until some days after. It was curt and stinging—provoked from him, said some of the members, by the rumours that their remonstrance was unanswerable, rather than by any desire to set himself right with the Parliament.

'Our intention is,' the King said, 'that no failing on your part shall make us fail on ours. We cannot at all understand "a malignant and wicked party" prevalent in the government concerning religion. We will concur with every just desire of our people in a parliamentary way. As to depriving the Bishops of their votes in Parliament, their right is grounded on the fundamental law of the kingdom. As to ceremonies in religion, we will willingly concur in the removal of them.'

In the midst of these unworthy squabbles, the nation was startled by the news of the Irish Rebellion, which had broken out in that unhappy country, for the express object of exterminating Protestantism. During the continuance of this reign of terror, the most diabolical acts of cruelty that ever disgraced the annals of any civilised land were openly encouraged by the priests, and perpetrated by their bigoted followers.

When the report reached London, on November 1, it immediately spread over the metropolis, producing alarm and indignation in every quarter. 200,000*l.* were voted at once, by the House of Commons, for the service of Ireland; an order was issued to secure the person of all Papists of influence and position

throughout England; ships of war were despatched to the Irish coasts, and forces, consisting of 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse, placed under the command of the Lord-Lieutenant. CHAP. VI. 1641

It is stated that upwards of 40,000 Protestants were treacherously murdered during the early days of this outbreak, under circumstances of the most cruel and revolting character; children of Roman Catholic parents being encouraged to strip and murder their little Protestant playfellows, husbands cut to pieces in the presence of their wives, their children's brains dashed in their faces, and their servants killed whilst ploughing in the fields; the wife compelled to hang her own husband, whilst the priest stood by and encouraged the slaughter. In one parish, that of Kilmore, twenty-two Protestants were thrust into a thatched cottage, and burnt alive; in another, seventeen women and children were cast alive into a bog-pit; on another occasion, upwards of three hundred were stripped naked in a church, and nearly one-half of them murdered within the sacred edifice. One unfortunate man, named Gregg, was quartered, we are told, *alive*, and his remains thrown in the face of his own father, who was himself then cut into pieces in the presence of his own wife. Some were drowned, others burnt, the murderers forcing their victims to fetch the straw to burn them. Some were buried alive, and mothers were seen hanging on the gallows with their children tied round their necks. In some instances parents were compelled to murder their own children, husbands their own wives, and wives

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their own husbands. The inhuman butchers amused themselves in trying which cut hacked deepest into Protestant flesh. But 'the half has not been told,' say the historians of the period; and there were deeds committed so diabolically dark and horrid, that the imagination must be left to suggest rather than the pen to record the nature of them.

To revert once more to English matters. The latent combustion, long smouldering beneath, at length began to come to the surface, and was first perceptible, as is usual, among the lower orders, who, taking advantage of the differences (says Whitelock) between the King and the Parliament, came 'in great numbers and tumults' to Whitehall.

These, for the most part, were composed of the youths and apprentices of the city. They assembled opposite the Houses of Parliament, and hooted the unpopular members as they entered, especially the Bishops, who received proofs of illwill so unendurable, that they withdrew, and sent in a protest to the King, declaring the illegality of all or any Acts passed during their absence. That the withdrawal of a few members should be considered sufficient to stultify the deliberate decisions of the rest was simply absurd. If, instead of protesting, they had called upon the authorities for protection, their inconsiderate step would not have brought down upon them, as it did, the anger of the Lower House; for by 8 o'clock at night, all who had signed the protest were taken into custody, and committed to the Tower on the charge of high treason.

Another unfortunate step, at this period, on the part

of the Court, was the injudicious selection of Colonel Lunsford for the office of Lieutenant of the Tower—a man who had been an outlaw, of profligate manners, and of notoriously bad character. The King, however, on the representations of the Lord Mayor, that disturbances were likely to ensue, cancelled the appointment a few days after.

The climax of the King's forbearance towards the Parliament had now been reached, and the cherished moment he had so long waited for at length arrived; aggression, and not concession, was to be the future order of the day. Up to this a reconciliation might have been practicable, but his next step destroyed all chance of it for ever.

It was on January 3, 1642, that the King, acting on the advice of Lord Digby, sent the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Herbert, down to the House of Peers, to accuse five members of the Lower and one of the Upper House of high treason. Lord Kimbolton, Mr. Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. John Pym, John Hampden, and Mr. W. Stroud were charged with endeavouring 'to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, of seeking to deprive the King of royal power, traitorously endeavouring to alienate the affections of his people, inviting and encouraging a foreign Power to invade his Majesty's kingdom of England, traitorously endeavouring to subvert the rights of Parliaments and their very existence; and finally, for the completing of their traitorous designs, they had endeavoured, so far as in them lay, by force and terror to compel the Parliament to join with them, and to that end had actually raised

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and countenanced tumults against the King and Parliament.'

This act was followed by another equally startling and unconstitutional. Whilst the Attorney-General was making these charges, persons were employed in sealing the boxes, desks, and papers found at the lodgings of Messrs. Pym and Hollis, as also at the houses of the three other members of the Lower House. On the news of this reaching the House, the Sergeant was sent to break open the seals, and arrest all who opposed them. A resolution also passed, ordering into custody 'any person whatever who should come to the lodging of any member, and there offer to seal their doors, trunks, or papers.' Outside St. Stephens there was great commotion among the people, for, simultaneously with these proceedings, Whitehall had been placed in a state of defence by the presence of troops.

A conference between the two Houses immediately ensued, during which the Serjeant-at-Arms made his appearance, and demanded in the King's name the persons of the accused members. The House replied by requesting the officer to withdraw, and appointing a deputation, who went to wait upon the King at Whitehall, and informed him, 'that the message being a matter of great consequence, and concerning the privileges of Parliament, they would take it into consideration, and attend his Majesty with an early answer. In the meantime the accused members should be ready to answer any legal charge made against them.'

The next day the two Houses met together again in conference, a rumour having meanwhile spread that

the King had sent to the Inns of Court, to summon those among the members of the inns who had volunteered a few days since to defend his Majesty in case of need.

A messenger was despatched by the House, to enquire into the truth of this report, which proved to be correct, and the answer received from these early pioneers of the 'Devil's Own' deserves insertion: 'The King had sent them a messenger the evening before, that they should keep within to-morrow, and be ready at an hour's notice if the King should have occasion to use them.'

Whilst pondering over these proceedings that afternoon, the five accused members being present in their places, the King himself made his appearance in their midst, accompanied by a large number of soldiers, who, however, were not brought into the body of the House, but left at the doors. Fortunately for the five, however, just before the King's appearance, one Captain Langrish sent a private intimation to them, and they instantly made their escape just as the King entered. 'By your leave, Mr. Speaker,' said his Majesty, as he walked towards that officer; 'I must borrow your chair for a little.' The Speaker immediately vacated the chair, and the King stepped into it. After he had remained there for a moment, he rose and stood, still casting his eye around, as if in search for the five delinquents, the whole House, meanwhile, standing in silence round his Majesty. At last he spoke nearly as follows:—

'I am sorry for this occasion of coming unto you. Yesterday I sent a sergeant-at-arms upon a very

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important occasion, to apprehend some that by my command were accused of high treason; whereunto I did expect obedience, and not a message. Albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges, yet you must know that in cases of treason no person hath a privilege, and therefore I am come to know if any of these persons are here. For I must tell you, gentlemen, that so long as these persons that I have accused are here, I cannot expect that this House will be in the right way that I heartily wish it to be. Therefore I am come to tell you that I must have them, wheresoever I find them. Well, since I see all the birds are flown, I do expect from you that you shall send them unto me as soon as they return hither. But I assure you, on the word of a king, I never did intend any force, but I shall proceed against them in a legal and fair way, for I never meant any other.

'And now, since I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to what I have said formerly, that whatsoever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do mean to maintain it.

'I will trouble you no more, but tell you I do expect, as soon as they come to the House, you will send them to me; otherwise I must take my own course to find them.'

Before departing the King turned round to where the Speaker was standing, and enquired whether he saw any of them, and where they were. The Speaker replied, falling on his knees: 'I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose

servant I am here, and humbly beg your Majesty's pardon that I cannot give any other answer than this.' Whereupon the King took his departure, amidst loud cries, from several of the members, of 'Privilege! Privilege, your Majesty!' The House then adjourned to one o' clock the next day.

The news of the King's attempt to intimidate the Commons speedily spread like wildfire over London, completely obliterating all his previous popularity. The day following, the House, on reassembling, voted unanimously, that their privileges having been invaded and violated by the King, they could no longer in security continue their sittings at Westminster; therefore they resolved to remove to Guildhall. A committee, consisting of twenty-four members, was appointed there to meet, and the House adjourned until January 11. But the King—determined, if possible, to be beforehand with them in the City—on this same January 5 ordered the Common Council to meet him at Guildhall, whither his Majesty proceeded, amidst the cries of the multitude in the streets, who assailed him with shouts of 'Privilege! privilege!—Privileges of Parliament!' And one in the crowd, more bold than the rest, threw into the royal carriage a paper, whereon was written, 'To your tents O Israel!'

Such, then, was the reception he received from those who but a brief month previous had been so demonstrative in their welcome. The King, however, was not to be shaken from his purpose. 'I am come,' he said to the Lord Mayor and Corporation, assembled at Guildhall—'I am come to demand such persons as I have already accused of high treason, and do believe

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are shrouded in the City. I hope no good man will keep them from me; their offences are treason. I desire your loving assistance that they may be brought to a legal trial. And whereas there are divers suspicions raised that I am a favourer of the Popish religion, I do profess, in the name of a king, that I did, and ever will to the utmost of my power, be a prosecutor of all such as shall in any way oppose the laws and statutes of this kingdom, either Papists or separatists; and not only so, but will maintain and defend the true Protestant religion which my father did profess, and I will continue in it during my life.'

There is a strange inconsistency in these professions to grant 'a fair legal trial' to those whom he was thus illegally seeking to secure, which seems to have escaped his Majesty's observation, but doubtless was apparent to the matter-of-fact men he addressed; for although the five members were actually at that moment within the precincts of the City, not one of the city magnates volunteered his 'loving assistance' in order to secure them. But the sentiments of the citizens were placed beyond all doubt two days later, when a petition to his Majesty was presented, severely reflecting on the state of things in general:—the distractions in Ireland; foreign interference in favour of the rebels; plots at home against the Protestants; the animus shown in the selection of persons as governors of the Tower; fortifying Whitehall; the application for assistance to the Inns of Court; and, above all, his Majesty's late aggressive attempt to intimidate the Commons, by going to that assembly with troops.

It is significant of the power and influence of the

City on all public matters at this period, that the King should have condescended to answer this petition, which he did, in the most mild and conciliatory manner, by replying to each complaint seriatim, as if to make a marked contrast in his behaviour towards the citizens as compared with that he displayed towards the House of Commons. He told them that, on behalf of Ireland, nothing had been 'unoffered or undone' on his part. As to the Tower, he had, in order to remove the fears of the City, removed a good and trusty servant, and put another of unquestionable reputation in his place. At Whitehall he had done no more than was consistent with the strange provocation he had received; neither had he accepted the services of the Inns of Court, or knew of any endeavours of theirs beyond what 'loyalty and dutiful affection' had called forth. As for his going to the House of Commons, he was verily persuaded that, if the petitioners knew the clear grounds upon which those persons stood accused of high treason, they would believe his going thither 'was an act of grace and favour to that House, and the most peaceable way of having that necessary service performed; and for the proceedings against those persons, he ever intended the same should be with all justice and favour, according to the laws of the realm.'

Quite conscious of his grace and favour in thus replying, he adds: 'And this extraordinary way of answering a petition of so unusual a nature, his Majesty is confidently persuaded, will be thought the greatest instance that can be given of his Majesty's clear intentions to his subjects, and of the singular

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estimation he hath of the good affections of this city, which he believes will never be wanting in gratitude to his just commands and service.'

Meanwhile the Committee of the House met at Guildhall, and came to the resolution, which they embodied in their report, 'that the publishing of the several articles of high treason against the five members of the Lower and one of the Upper House was a breach of the privileges of Parliament, and that the privileges thus violated could not be sufficently vindicated unless his Majesty would be pleased to discover the names of those persons who had advised him to this step.

On January 11, the Parliament again assembled at St. Stephen's, and awaited the arrival of the Committee, which came by water from the City with a large escort of sailors and watermen—a rumour having prevailed that an attempt to interfere with their progress westward was intended. The trainbands also assembled, to guard the streets from military interference. This popular displayof physical force appears to have been decisive, for the King, dreading a collision or an insult, chose to leave Whitehall before the arrival of the Committee, and retired to Hampton Court. He was never more destined to see that palace, the scene of many trials and of much domestic happiness, except when on the sad occasion, a few years later, he was led to the scaffold.

This attempt to invade the privileges of the Commons was the last in the direction of arbitrary power: henceforth his endeavours were directed to govern in the spirit of the Constitution, with conciliation, con-

cessions, and peace—now alas too late! for no one trusted his good intentions. Suspicion, mistrust, and unbelief were universal; repeated acts of duplicity had destroyed for ever all confidence, and 'the sacred word of a king' he had pawned so often that no political capital could again be realised on it.

The next day the King sent the following conciliatory mesage to both Houses:—'His Majesty, taking notice that some conceive it disputable whether his proceedings (against the six members of both Houses) be legal and agreeable to the privileges of Parliament, and being very desirous to give satisfaction to all men in all matters that may seem to have relation to privilege, is pleased to waive his former proceedings; and all doubts by this means being settled, when the minds of men are composed, his Majesty will proceed thereupon in an unquestionable way, and assures his Parliament that upon all occasions he will be as careful of their privileges as of his life or his crown.'

This message was supplemented by another (on the 14th) from Windsor, whither the Court had removed, in which the King asserts that 'he never had the least intention of violating the least privilege of Parliament'; and in case any doubt this, he expresses 'his willingness to clear that by any reasonable way that his Parliament shall advise him to.' He concludes by 'assuring himself that his care of their privileges will increase their tenderness of his lawful prerogatives.'

The Commons, however, were in no mood to let the matter rest. The next day the Attorney-General, Sir Edward Herbert, was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, and examined as to the part he had

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taken in the matter. His answer proving unsatisfactory, he was impeached.

They next proceeded to petition the King for proof against the members. To this his Majesty replied, that when the proper time came to declare it, he should be able to satisfy all parties on this point; nor would he take upon himself to decide whether the issue should be tried at common law or by impeachment, preferring to leave the selection of the tribunal to themselves.

The Commons followed the matter up with energy and perseverance, until at length the King, finding there would be no end to the difficulties of his false position, did that which it had been well for him to have done at the first: he retreated, retracted, and finally set the matter at rest by abandoning the charge against the six members, under cover of a 'free and general pardon for the full contentment of all his loving subjects.'

Thus heavily passed the early days of the new year at the royal castle of Windsor. With February came other troubles to the royal household. Early in that month it was privately decided on that the Queen should seek foreign aid and assistance on the Continent. In this matter great caution and secrecy was observed. On February 9, the Royal Family left Windsor for Hampton Court: one night only sufficed there; the next was passed at Greenwich, the two succeeding at Rochester and Canterbury. On the 23rd the Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Orange and the young Princess Mary, sailed from Dover for Holland. In her possession were the crown-

jewels, to be hereafter employed in raising loans for the coming struggle, which now appeared inevitable.

The Queen was no sooner removed to a place of safety, than his Majesty proceeded by easy stages to York; that city being the centre of his most reliable friends, and having also the advantage of proximity to his Scottish subjects, on whom he thought in cases of emergency he could rely. He reached York on March 19. A constant communication continued meanwhile between the King and the Parliament in reference to the militia, the great struggle being which should gain the control: the latter, however, were unable to obtain the King's permission, either to raise troops or to appoint officers. To one of these communications from the Commons, from which may be gathered the discursive nature of their correspondence, his Majesty replied as follows:—

'I am so much amazed at this message that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears; lay your hands to your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies; and if so, I assure you this message has nothing lessened them.

'For the militia, I thought so much of it before I sent that answer, and am so much assured that the answer is agreeable to what in justice you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter in any point.

'For my residence near you, I wish it might be so safe and honourable, that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall; ask yourselves whether I have not.

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'For my son, I shall take care of him which shall justify me to God as a father, and to my dominions as a king.

'To conclude, I assure you, upon my honour, that I have no thought *but of peace and justice* to my people, which I shall by all fair means seek to preserve and maintain, relying upon the goodness and providence of God for the preservation of myself and rights.'

When it is considered that, at the time the King was penning this reply, he was actually engaged in raising troops, and that the Queen was endeavouring to collect money by pawning the crown-jewels in Holland, the amount of duplicity thus exhibited is perfectly appalling.

The House, on the receipt of this answer, resolved 'that the kingdom be forthwith put into a posture of defence, by authority of both Houses, in such a way as is already agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament'; and they issued an ordinance for the militia, empowering the lord-lieutenants of the several counties to raise troops. A lengthy declaration was also submitted to his Majesty, by a deputation of members, to which the King made a general reply, concluding with the following words:—

'What would you have? Have I molested your laws? Have I denied to pass any Bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask you what you have done for me.

'Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I have offered a free and general pardon, as yourselves can devise. All this

considered, there is a judgment from heaven upon this nation if these distractions continue.

'God so deal with me and mine as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the preservation of the laws of the land; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation!'

As a last resort, before departing, the deputation obtained an audience of the King, and, through one of the deputies, Lord Pembroke enquired whether he would grant the militia, for a definite period, to which his Majesty replied, with an oath—'No, not for an hour!'

At length, on May 26, the King sent forth a proclamation, forbidding the execution of the parliamentary ordinance about the militia; to which both Houses joined issue, by sending forth a declaration forbidding all persons to obey the King's proclamation.

Henceforth the nation may be said to have been divided in its allegiance, each side preparing for the ultimatum of war, by carrying on, in every possible way, a system of misrepresentation, terror, and intimidation. Whatever may have been the opinion of the nation at large, the leading men on both sides were no longer doubtful as to the nature of the next step which inevitably presented itself to their minds. Charles hesitated no longer, but issued forth the celebrated commission of array, to which the Parliament responded by proceeding to raise the militia.

CHAPTER VII.

State of England at the Outbreak of the Civil War—Cromwell employed in Collecting Men and Money—Commands a Troop—Military Visit to his Kinsman at Ramsay—Baxter's Opinion of Oliver Cromwell—The Discipline of the Soldiers under Cromwell—His Statement concerning them—Their Religious Welfare—The Royal Standard set up at Nottingham—Early Indecision of the Parliamentary General—Battle of Edgehill—Cromwell's Description of the Parliamentary Troops—Forced Loans become necessary—Retreat of the Royal Army to Oxford—Successful Skirmish of Prince Rupert—Cromwell in the Associated Counties under the Earl of Manchester—The Queen returns to England with Succours—The Parliament disposed towards Peace, but not so the Royalists—The Two Armies break up their Winter Quarters—Cavalry Skirmish and Death of Hampden—Oliver Cromwell's successful Encounter at Hertford—Affair at Lowestoft—His Letter from Gainsborough—Distinction between a Cavalry Soldier and a Musketeer—Gloomy Prospects of the Parliament Forces in the Summer of 1643—Energetic Appeal of Cromwell for Supplies—Skirmish near Gainsborough—Cromwell's Description of the Fight—Death of the Royalist General Cavendish—Unsuccessful Efforts to Retain Lincoln by the Parliamentary Forces—Cromwell is ably supported by the Parliament—The Scots accept the Invitation to join in the National Struggle, on condition that Episcopacy in England be abolished, and Presbyterianism substituted—The Westminster Confession of Faith—The Scots Army Raised—Cromwell and Fairfax attack Sir John Henderson's Forces near Horncastle — Cromwell's Danger in this Encounter—His Graphic Description of the Fight—Retires to Ely at the End of the Campaign—Death of Pym—His Character—Death of other Eminent Men—Poverty and Distress of Bishop Hall and other distinguished Ecclesiastics—Laud in the Tower—His Diary, written at this Period—His Death on Tower Hill.

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WHEN the Civil War broke out, in the spring of 1642, England presented a sad picture of social disorder and dismay in every rank and station of life. Some districts in the extreme north and west, from their isolated position, and consequent infrequent inter-

course with the rest of the kingdom, ranged themselves from the first almost entirely on the side of the King. The rest of the nation, with the exception of the landed aristocracy, declared for the Parliament. Some idea of the anarchy and confusion prevalent may be formed when it is recollected that in this struggle the ties of relationship were no longer recognised as influencing families or individuals, and a man's foes were often those of his own household. The father would be found fighting on one side—the sons on the other; the mother separated from her own children, and the wife from her own relations. No ties of consanguinity were permitted to influence in this unfortunate and vehement dispute.

Not unfrequently, towards the latter end of the war, when the contest became more unequal, these natural ties of relationship once more asserted themselves, and both shelter and protection were afforded by the victorious to their weaker and more unfortunate kinsmen. A case of this kind occurred to the elder branch of the Cromwell family, whose estate, but for the influence and intercession of Oliver, would have been confiscated when the parliamentary forces gained the upper hand. The family of Milton affords another instance; his wife's relations had embraced the Royalist cause, and when victory declared for the opposite side, the poet was able to shield them, by his powerful influence, from the confiscation which otherwise would inevitably have happened to their property.

The sinews of war, money, now became the grand desideratum. On behalf of the King, private loans were had recourse to, and if none were forthcoming,

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or had already been exhausted, the family plate kept the Mint for some time in action, and the heirlooms of many generations, precious as works of art far beyond their intrinsic worth, were melted into the current coin of the realm. The Universities, especially that of Oxford, together with the wealthy clergy throughout the kingdom, distinguished themselves in these acts of liberal vandalism.

The Parliament had a wider range than the Royalists, and one far more prolific in the article so essential to successful warfare—namely, ready money. Their supporters embraced the wealthy mercantile and professional classes congregated in the large towns, not to mention the metropolis itself, the emporium of trade, with its ramifications of commerce embracing then, as now, the civilised world. Nor were the more wealthy members of the Lower House less liberally inclined to aid and assist than others at this juncture. Oliver Cromwell, we read in the 'Commons Journal' of February 7, lent 300*l.*, and his cousin John Hampden 1,000*l.* Many other persons likewise loaned large sums to the State, to meet the expenses of the coming struggle.

The Royalists in the House still formed a powerful minority, valuable and important to the more moderate party, if they had only been permitted by the King to remain. Obstinate, and blind as ever to his own interests, instead of doing this, he commanded them to quit London, and join him at York, thus depriving the more moderate members of their presence at a very critical period, destroying all chance of successful opposition, and enabling the majority to

release from attendance and despatch several of their most influential members into the country, wherever they possessed county influence, in order to aid in raising the militia, now being armed and drilled in almost every parish.

Oliver Cromwell was one of the members chosen for this employment. He not only materially assisted to collect men, but he advanced money to purchase their weapons; for we find the House subsequently voted 100*l.*, to recoup him for this outlay.

One of the first results of his active presence in the eastern district, whither he was sent, occurred at Cambridge, where he seized the castle, with most of the University plate, which, but for this, would have been despatched to the King a day or two later.

The exigencies of the times now demanded military rather than political celebrities. In this emergency, the Commons made choice of the Earl of Essex for Lieutenant-General, the young Earl of Bedford being appointed General of the Horse. Under the latter Cromwell commanded a troop, and his son served as cornet in another troop of horse. Oliver was also appointed Commissioner of Militia for the Eastern Counties, aiding besides, very materially, the Lieutenant-General, in procuring ample ammunition-waggons for the service of the army.

Cromwell fixed his headquarters at Cambridge; thither he gathered around him, from the well-known districts of Ely, Huntingdon, and St. Ives, the men he well knew, by past experience, on whom he could rely—Puritans, praying-men, of stern, dogged, determined self-reliance, who believed in God and in the des-

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tinies of their leader. These were the materials out of which Oliver formed the invincible troop of 'Ironsides,' so conspicuous in the coming struggle.

One of the first services this troop was called upon to perform in their own district happened shortly after their formation. It was by no means a pleasant one, requiring secrecy, promptness, and the negation of old friendships. Oliver was commanded to visit the mansions of all the known or suspected Royalists in his own county, and to seize whatever plate or valuables he found therein. Warwick, in his memoirs, mentions a circumstance connected with one of these visits:—

'I have to observe' (says he), 'that whilst I was about Huntingdon, visiting old Sir Oliver, his (Oliver's) uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsay, he told me this story of his successful nephew and godson: that he visited him with a good strong party of horse, and that he had asked him his blessing, and that the few hours he was there he would not keep on his hat in his presence; but at the same time, he not only disarmed, but plundered him, for he took away all his plate.'

No one knew better than Oliver the proclivities of his old Royalist uncle down at Ramsay; and it is very possible that this timely visit of the nephew saved the uncle from unpleasant consequences, which would have ensued had he compromised himself with the King in the disposal of his plate in that direction.

An interesting testimony is given by the pious Richard Baxter, of the care Oliver Cromwell took at this period to make choice of God-fearing men to serve in his troop. Baxter, be it remembered, was

no friend to Oliver, and therefore his opinion is the more to be relied on.

'I think,' says Baxter, 'that Cromwell, having been a prodigal in his youth, and afterwards changed to a zealous religionist, he meant honestly in the main, and was pious and conscionable in the main course of his life, till prosperity and success corrupted him: that at the first entry into the wars, being but a captain of the horse, he had a special care to get religious men into his troop.'

A whimsical account of Oliver's method of training his raw recruits is given by another writer. It was during one of their first musters (says Kimber), that he privily 'placed an ambuscade of twelve of his men near, who sounded a charge at a given signal, and made furiously towards the body, of which above twenty, thinking they came from the enemy, presently fled for fear, whom Cromwell immediately cashiered, and then mounted their horses with others who were more bold and courageous.' A contemporary, speaking of the discipline of this troop, adds the following:—'As for Cromwell, he hath brave men well disciplined. No man swears but he pays his twelve pence; if he be drunk, he is set in the stocks, or worse; if one calls the other roundhead, he is cashiered; insomuch that the counties where they come leap for joy of them, and join with them.'

Another authority—Bates, the author of 'Elenchus Mortuum,' a man especially prejudiced against Oliver—tells us that he accustomed his troops 'daily to look after, feed, and dress their horses, and, when it was

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necessary, to lay together on the ground; and, besides, taught them to clean, keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service—to chose the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow-soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over the enemy.'

But let us hear Oliver himself, when, in after-years, he mournfully discoursed to others on this eventful period of his life, as he looked back upon the trials, sufferings, and political failures of subsequent experience. He is addressing his second Parliament, in the year 1657:—

'If you do not all of you, I am sure some of you do know my calling from the first to this day. I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trust to greater—from my first being a captain of a troop of horse—and did labour as well as I could to discharge my trust, and God blessed me, as it pleased Him, and I did desire to make my instruments help me in that work. . . . I had a very worthy friend then, and he was a very noble person, and I know his memory is very grateful to all—Mr. Hampden. At my first going out, I saw our men were beaten at every hand—I did, indeed; and desired him that he would make some additions to my Lord Essex's army of some new regiments, and I told him I would be serviceable to him in bringing such men in as I thought had a spirit that would do something in the work. "Your troops," said I, "are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind

of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them?" Truly I did represent to him in this manner conscientiously. "You must get men of spirit, and—take it not ill what I say, I know you will not—of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else you will be beaten still." I told him so. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one. Truly, I told him, I could do somewhat in it. I did so, and truly, I must say this to you—impute it to what you please—I raised such men as had *the fear of God before them*, as made some conscience of what they did, and from that day forward they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually. And truly this is matter of praise to God, and it hath some instruction in it, to own men who are religious and godly.'

Cromwell's anxiety for the religious welfare of his men is best evidenced by the care he took to obtain for them properly qualified teachers. It was in the spring of the year 1643, whilst at Cambridge, that Richard Baxter was invited to become chaplain to his troop, which however Baxter, for some reason or other, declined. Possibly, with many others of that period, he thought the path of duty lay not in open resistance to the 'powers that be.' Baxter's views of the importance of sound religious teaching, however, were in accordance with the great Puritan leaders of

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that day. On this subject he has left on record the following important remarks:—

'If it be in your power, live under a judicious, faithful, searching, powerful minister, attend his public teaching, and use his private counsel for more particular direction and application, for the settling and managing the affairs of your souls, even as you take the advice of physicians for your health, and of lawyers for your estates, and tutors for your studies.'

On August 22 the King left York to set up his standard at Nottingham, in the hope and expectation that numbers would flock to him so soon as it became known in that central district. In this, however, he was disappointed, for but few at the first rallied round him. This movement of the King induced a corresponding step on the part of the Parliamentary General, who, with an army of 16,000 men, made Northampton his headquarters. Meanwhile the King, learning that Shrewsbury had declared in his favour, removed to that town, where, in a few days, he was surrounded by an army of 10,000 foot and 4,000 horse.

During these events useless messages were passing from the King to the Parliament, the object being to gain time for the arrival of the supplies expected from abroad; at length they reached their destination, and with them came the King's nephew, Prince Rupert, who proved one of the bravest, though not the most prudent, of all the King's Generals in the Civil War. These timely arrivals decided his Majesty to act on the offensive; accordingly, he now left the Valley of the Severn, and began his march towards the south, with

the intention of appearing before London, having a numerous army, composed of the yeomanry and aristocracy of the west: the latter were especially distinguished by their bold military bearing and imposing appearance.

Indecision appears to have marked the conduct of the Parliamentary General at this early period of the Civil War. With a force sufficient to arrest the Royalists on their march towards Shrewsbury, and also to cut off the large supplies Charles was waiting for from the Continent, he yet suffered both these opportunities to be lost, without making the slightest effort to prevent the one or the other. It was no part of his Majesty's plans to encounter the Parliamentary troops on his route towards the metropolis. Some have thought that he disdained rather than feared them, counting it of no material importance to leave what he looked upon as an undisciplined rabble in his rear. Essex now became thoroughly awake to the danger of letting the King march on London. He followed the royal troops in great haste, and the two armies met at Edgehill, an eminence overlooking an extensive plain known as Keinton, situated some six miles west of Banbury, in Oxfordshire.

The Battle of Edgehill, or Keinton, was fought on Sunday, October 22. The day, of all others, especially set apart by a professedly Christian people, thus inaugurated the horrors of civil war. History furnishes similar parallels; a significant proof of the little hold the religion of Him whose mission was to bring peace on earth has upon mankind in general when under the influence of passion or party strife.

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It is a melancholy fact that many of the great struggles in modern times have either been commenced or decided on the Sabbath-day. The Battle of Bunker's Hill, in the American War of Independence, and the more recent one at Bull's Run, were fought on a Sunday; so also the first great battle in the Crimea, the Prussian victory at Sadowa, and the Battle of Waterloo.

In this battle both the Cromwells, father and son, were present. An amusing anecdote, as improbable as it is diverting, is told of the elder Cromwell by Sir William Dugdale. Before the battle, says this authority, 'some of the Parliamentary troops, standing doubtful of the success, forbore to adventure themselves therein, among which the after-famous Oliver Cromwell was one; who, being captain of a troop of horse in the General's regiment, came not into the field, but got up into a steeple within view of the battle. There, discerning the two wings of their horde to be utterly routed, made such haste to be gone that, instead of descending the stairs, he let himself down by the bell-rope, and ran away with his troop.'

Seeing the discomfiture, not to say disgrace, which befell the Parliamentary cavalry in this engagement, it was well for the two Cromwells that nothing worse happened to them than a hasty retreat down a church bell-rope.

The battle began on the King's side by the cavalry, which far outnumbered their opponents, led on by the fiery Prince Rupert, who attacked the right wing of the Parliamentary army, and utterly routed it, in a few moments driving the division out of the field. A

similar catastrophe befell the left wing, which quickly disappeared in a panic.

Instead, however, of returning to support their own centre, the cavaliers wasted valuable moments in stopping to plunder the camp and baggage of their enemies, now left undefended: the consequence was, they lost the opportunity afforded of defeating the Parliamentary forces, and of obtaining a signal victory, so important at the commencement of a campaign—the result being a drawn battle. During the absence of Prince Rupert and his victorious cavaliers, the centre of the Parliamentary forces fought furiously with the Royalist centre; but the reserve of the former meanwhile arriving, gave them a decided advantage, which would soon have decided the day in their favour, if Prince Rupert and a portion of his troops had not come up in time to save the Royalists from being overwhelmed by numbers. Night intervening, each side drew off, and thus terminated the first action in the Civil War.

In this encounter five or six thousand were stated to have been slaughtered. It was shortly after this fight that Cromwell is reported to have said to Hampden: 'Your troops are decayed serving-men and tapsters, whilst theirs are gentlemen's sons. You must get men who will go as far as gentlemen will go—men of spirit, and who have the fear of God before them.'

The next morning the two armies marched a few miles apart, that of the King drawing slowly towards London, resting meanwhile a short time at Oxford, and the Parliamentary forces following, in a parallel direction, at a respectful distance.

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By November 11, the King's forces had reached Reading. London meanwhile became greatly agitated, on hearing that his Majesty was within thirty miles of the metropolis. General Lord Essex, however, was not far distant, a fact which somewhat reassured the citizens; nevertheless, they thought it prudent to send a most humble petition to the King, praying for a treaty of peace, which, after some difficulty, was presented and graciously received. Still, as no suspension of hostilities had been entertained, the troops were pushed on, and a few hours later appeared before Brentford, at that moment defended by a mere handful of Parliamentary troops, who, after a vigorous though unequal struggle, were obliged to retreat, and the King's army occupied the town.

The want of money now began to make itself seriously felt on both sides, and it is curious to notice the various schemes resorted to under this pressure. The silver plate had all disappeared, as if by magic; what escaped the crucible had been privately buried deep in the earth to prevent discovery; choice old family tokens were thus preserved which otherwise would have perished with the rest. Forced loans fell heavily on friend and foe alike, the alternative being total confiscation of property. Acting on the fears of the citizens, the Parliament succeeded in a novel and ingenious method of raising troops. They persuaded employers to cancel the indentures of their apprentices, who were very glad to obtain their freedom on the terms stipulated—namely, enlistment.

The Royalist army, on retreating from Oxford,

took with them a number of prisoners captured at Edgehill and Brentford, John Lilburn among the rest. These were in a very fair way of being disposed of in a short and summary manner. A commission of Oyer and Terminer was issued, at which they were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to death, for being taken in arms against the King's Majesty. On the news of this sentence reaching Parliament, that body lost no time in threatening reprisals should the King carry out the verdict—a threat they were well able to execute from the number of Royalists detained by them as prisoners. Fortunately, no necessity arose requiring so severe an alternative, the bare intimation being sufficient to induce the King to spare the lives of his prisoners.

Shortly after the Battle of Edgehill, many of the wealthy and aristocratic families residing in the then fashionable districts of St. Martin's Lane, Covent Garden, the Strand, and Westminster, becoming alarmed for their property, and seeing the chance of a reconciliation growing daily less and less, drew up a petition to Parliament, asking for permission to propose to the King terms of peace on a more favourable basis than had yet been submitted. The Parliament, however, not only refused to receive their petition, but threatened to prosecute all who had signed it.

It is not our purpose in this work to give an account of the Civil War, only so far as it relates to the history of Cromwell. This, however, must necessarily involve us in frequent descriptions of engagements and encounters more or less connected with him, through whose genius and energy that

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struggle ultimately terminated in favour of political and religious freedom.

After the affair at Brentford, the Royalists returned to Oxford for the winter, and the headquarters of the army of the Parliament to Windsor. Detached skirmishes throughout England, nevertheless, continued during those dark winter months; the only district free from internal commotion was that of the eastern counties, where, through the vigilance and forethought of Cromwell, an association of six or seven counties, for mutual self-protection and defence, had been formed, which proved not only effectual in keeping the Royalists in check, but also preserved its own borders throughout the war from intestine disturbance.

Meanwhile the valiant, restless, and impetuous Prince Rupert scattered terror among the enemies of the Royal cause, carrying off or destroying their property in the bold and desperate forages he made from Oxford throughout the neigbouring districts.

Cromwell appears to have left the Parliamentary forces at headquarters, and returned to his native district for more active service, where the troops under the Earl of Manchester, the General of the Associated Counties, were located. Shortly after he was appointed colonel to a regiment of horse, the same which became subsequently distinguished under the name of Cromwell's 'Regiment of Ironsides.'

He is next heard of, in the early weeks of the new year, at Cambridge, Huntingdon, and Norwich, actively employed in raising men and money, enquiring after and restraining quondam Royalists, searching out and scattering antagonistic combinations, whether

of a civil, military, or religious character. The following letter, written by him about this date, and addressed to Mr. Barnard—the same Barnard who, some twelve years previous, had with Cromwell been appointed a magistrate at Huntingdon—refers to one of those unpleasant visitations before mentioned, which appear to have been made to the houses of the suspected Royalists, Barnard's among the number:—

'*To my assured friend, Robert Barnard, Esq.*

'It is most true my lieutenant, with some other soldiers of my troops, were at your house. I dealt freely to enquire after you: the reason was, I had heard you reported active against the proceedings of Parliament, and *for* those that disturb the peace of this country, with those who have had meetings not a few, to intents and purposes too full of suspect.*

'It is true, sir, I know you have been wary in your carriages; be not too confident thereof. Subtlety may deceive you—integrity never will. With my heart I shall desire that your judgment may alter your practice. I come only to hinder men from increasing the rent, from doing hurt—but not to hurt any man, nor shall I you. I hope you will give me no cause. If you do, I must be pardoned what my relation to the public calls for.

'If your good parts be disposed that way, know me for Your servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.'

'Be assured, fair words from me shall neither deceive you of your houses nor of your liberty.'

* Suspicion.

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Barnard, it appears, was by no means disposed quietly to put up with this rebuke; for a few weeks later he posted off to London, in order to have an interview and explain matters with the Lieutenant-General, the Earl of Manchester, who had gone thither, apparently, however, with no satisfactory result, to judge by the second letter he shortly after received from Oliver:—

'*To my very loving friend, Robert Barnard, Esq.*

'SIR,—I have received two letters, one from my Lord of Manchester, the other from yourself, much to the same effect. I hope one answer will therefore serve them both, which is, in short, this—that we know you are disaffected to the Parliament, and truly, if the Lords or any friends may take you off from a reasonable contribution, for my part I should be glad to any other employment. Sir, you may, if you will, come freely into the county about your occasions.

'For my part, I have protected you in your absence, and shall do so to you. This is all, but that I am ready to serve you, and rest,

Your loving friend,
OLIVER CROMWELL.'

Whether Barnard, after all, escaped the 'reasonable contribution' we are not informed; but we know that he remained a firm friend to the Royalist cause, and was amply rewarded, after the Restoration, by being appointed Recorder of Huntingdon.

Both these letters were dated—the one in January, and the second in April—from Huntingdon, so that it

is more than probable that his wife and family were residing with his aged mother in that town at this period.

Early in the spring of 1643, the Queen returned to England, bringing with her large supplies of money and war-materials. Her landing was effected at Bridlington Bay; from thence she proceeded to York, in order to join the forces under the Earl of Newcastle, stationed in that district. Twelve months had now elapsed since the outbreak of the Civil War. Peace negotiations, however, had been carried on between the contending forces ever since the skirmish before Brentford, and latterly Commissioners had been sent by the Parliament to Oxford to expedite matters in this direction. But, now that the King, by the arrival of succours from the Continent, was in a better position to prosecute hostilities, he became more and more disinclined to listen to any overtures that did not contain a preliminary recognition of 'the divine right of kings.' Accordingly, the negotiations were broken off in April, and the following message from his Majesty was sent to the Parliament:—

'As soon as his Majesty is satisfied concerning his own revenue, magazines, ships, and ports, to which he desires nothing but that the just, known, legal rights of his Majesty, *devolved to him from his progenitors*, and of the persons trusted by him, which have been violently taken from both, be restored unto him and unto them:

'As soon as the members of both Houses be restored to the same capacity of sitting and voting as they had upon January 1, 1641:

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'As soon as his Majesty and both Houses may be secured from tumultuous assemblies: his Majesty will then consent that both armies be immediately disbanded, and he will give a present meeting to both his Houses of Parliament.'

The old leaven of arbitrary power, to oppose which the nation had taken up arms, is here seen as rampant as ever. On receipt of this message, the Parliament recalled their Commissioners from Oxford, and the following day the army under Essex left their winter-quarters at Windsor, and appeared before Reading, which was held by the Royalists. The overwhelming force thus brought to bear on the town compelled the King's troops to retire, and Reading was taken possession of in the name of the Parliament.

The Earl of Essex had an army numbering nearly 20,000 present, yet he loitered in this place for six weeks, in opposition to the express wishes of both Houses, who urged him to go on to Oxford and besiege that city. At length, more in deference to their opinions than his own convictions, he consented to march in that direction. When within ten miles of the city he was suddenly attacked by the fiery Rupert and a large cavalry force, which that General had brought to the rear of the Parliamentary army, undiscovered, during the night: several troops were cut to pieces by the Royalists in this encounter, and Rupert made good his retreat to Oxford, which he entered in triumph.

It was during this skirmish that the patriot Hampden received his deathblow from a wound in the shoulder, of which he died a few days after. His

death was felt as a severe loss to the popular cause throughout the country.

In the eastern district matters were somewhat more promising, and the occasional glimpses obtained of Oliver show the energy, activity, and success which attended all his movements. At Hertford, one market-day, there were assembled a number of rustics and others, to hear the High Sheriff proclaim, by the King's order, the Earl of Essex and all his adherents traitors: suddenly Cromwell and his troopers, on their way to Norwich, dashed in among them. Cromwell pounced upon the Sheriff, and, in the face of the Royalist multitude, carried him off to London, and the same night lodged him in the Tower. For this service the Colonel received a vote of thanks from Parliament.

Some few days later, hearing of an association which was forming by the Royalists at Lowestoft, he proceeded thither, with some troops of horse, accompanied by some volunteers from Yarmouth and Norwich. On arriving he summoned the town authorities, and demanded them to deliver up their 'strangers, the town, and their army,' promising them his mercy if they did so—if not, none. 'They yielded,' says our authority, 'to deliver up their strangers, but not the rest. Whereupon the Norwich dragoons crept under the chain, and came within pistol-shot of their ordnance—proffering to fire upon their cannoneer, who fled. So they gained the two pieces of ordnance, broke the chain, and they and the horse entered the town without more resistance, where presently eighteen strangers yielded

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themselves. . . . . There was good store of pistols, powder, shot, and saddles' (secured). The prisoners were sent off to Cambridge, where they condoned for their offences by submitting to heavy fines—Sir John Wentworth, who was one of them, paying 1000*l.*, the others a less sum.

Early in May, Cromwell is heard of in Lincolnshire, endeavouring to stir up the leading men of that county to make a combined effort and rendezvous at Grantham. 'Believe me,' he writes to the Committee at Lincoln, 'it were better, in my poor opinion, Lincoln were not, than that there should not be found an immediate taking of the field.'

This remonstrance appears not to have been in vain, for, on the 13th, he writes from Grantham:—

'God hath given us this evening a glorious victory over our enemies. They were, as we are informed, one-and-twenty colours of horse-troops, and three or four of dragoons. It was late in the evening when we drew out: they came and faced us within two miles of the town. So soon as we had the alarm, we drew out our forces, consisting of about twelve troops, whereof some of them so poor and broken that you shall seldom see worse: with this handful it pleased God to cast the scale. For after we had stood a little above musket-shot the one from the other, and the dragooners had fired on both sides for the space of half an hour or more, they not advancing towards us, we agreed to charge them: and advancing the body, after many shots on both sides, we came on with our troops at a pretty round trot, they standing firm to receive us; and our men charging

fiercely upon them, by God's providence they were immediately routed, and ran all away, and we had the execution of them two or three miles.

'I believe some of our soldiers did kill two or three men apiece in the pursuit, but what the number of dead is we are not certain. We took forty-five prisoners besides divers of their horses and arms, and rescued many prisoners whom they had lately taken of ours; and we took four or five of their colours.'

It is perhaps as well to inform some readers unacquainted with the difference existing in Cromwell's time between a cavalry soldier and a dragoon or musketeer, that, at the first introduction of fire-arms they were necessarily of a cumbrous character, and their removal from place to place, when expedition became indispensable, was attended with much trouble and labour: it was therefore customary to mount musketeers with these heavy weapons on horseback, in order to arrive more quickly at the scene of action. On reaching the neighbourhood of the enemy, the horses were secured to some fence or tree out of danger, their riders dismounted, who with their unwieldy muskets lined the hedges and thickets, defended a bridge or a difficult pass; in short, were made available for the rough and ready work which presented itself on any sudden emergency, hence the origin of the term 'dragoon' or musketeer.

During this summer the Parliamentary cause presented a gloomy appearance, and their forces suffered checks and reverses in all parts of the kingdom. Bristol surrendered to prince Rupert. The Earl of Stamford and Sir William Walter suffered a defeat;

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Sir Thomas Fairfax was obliged to retreat before the Earl of Newcastle and take refuge in Hull. Some slight successes were obtained in the last district, where the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell kept the field in the face of a much superior force.

Want of funds greatly embarrassed the Parliamentary generals, and the appeals which Cromwell made from time to time on this subject to the various county associations were most earnest. 'I beseech you,' he writes, the end of May, to the Mayor of Colchester, 'I beseech you hasten the supply to us; forget not money! I press not hard, though I do so need *that*: I assure you the foot and dragooners are ready to mutiny. Lay not too much upon the back of a poor gentleman who desires without much noise to lay down his life and bleed the last drop to serve the cause and you. I ask not your money for myself; if that were my end and hope, the pay of my place, I would not open my mouth at this time. I desire to deny myself, but others will not be satisfied. I beseech you hasten supplies.'

In August a sum of 3,000*l.* was voted by the House of Commons to the colonel, to be levied on the Associated Counties for the payment of his men, and the Speaker wrote to him as follows:—

'This House hath commanded me to send you these enclosed orders, and to let you know that nothing is more repugnant to the sense of this House and dangerous to the kingdom than the unwillingness of their forces to march out of their several counties. For yourself, they do exceedingly approve of your faithful endeavours to serve God and the kingdom.'

Still money was not forthcoming; the great apathy on this important point which the country displayed in the early stages of the civil war was remarkable. In his extremity Cromwell wrote to an influential member of Parliament, Oliver St. John, giving a description of these pecuniary embarrassments as follows:—

'Of all men I should not trouble you with money matters did not the heavy necessities my troops are in press me beyond measure. I am neglected exceedingly.

'I am now ready for my march towards the enemy, who hath entrenched himself over against Hull; my Lord Newcastle having besieged that town. Many of my Lord of Manchester's troops are come to me very bad and mutinous, and not to be confided in: they are paid to a week almost; mine, no ways provided for to support them, except by the poor sequestrations of the county of Huntingdon. My troops increase; I have a lovely company; you would respect them did you know them. They are no anabaptists, but are honest, sober Christians, and they expect to be used as men.

'If I took pleasure to write to the House in bitterness, I have occasion. The 3,000*l.* allotted me I cannot get—the Norfolk part nor the Hertfordshire: it was gone before I had it. I have minded your (the Parliament's) service to forgetfulness of my own and soldiers' necessities. I desire not to seek (for) myself, (yet) I have little money of my own to help my soldiers. My estate is little. The business of Ireland and England hath had of me in money be-

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tween 1,100*l.* and 1,200*l.*, therefore my private purse can do little to help the public. You have had my money; I hope in God, I desire to adventure my skin. So do mine. Lay weight upon their patience, but break it not! think of that which may be of real help. I believe 5,000*l.* is due . . . all will be lost if God help not. Remember (him) who tells you.'

In the midst of his anxiety for money to pay the troops, he continued his watchful care over the character of those who were to be sent to serve in the army. 'I beseech you,' he says to the authorities of one of the Associated Counties, 'be careful what captains of horse you choose—what men be mounted: a few honest men are better than numbers. Some time they must have for exercise. If you choose godly, honest men to be captains of horse, honest men will follow them and they will be careful to mount such . . . .

'I had rather have a plain russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a "gentleman," and is nothing else. I honour a *gentleman* that is so indeed.'

It was not without reason that Cromwell wrote thus, for he had amongst the men sent to him from time to time some of the veriest rascals and scum of the country, of whom he says on another occasion: 'I protest unto you many of those men which are of your counties' choosing are so far from serving you that were it not that I have honest troops to master them, yet they are so mutinous that I may justly fear

they would cut my throat.' He was much encouraged on receiving a letter informing him that a number of 'young men and maidens' had subscribed a sum of money in order to raise a company of foot to serve under him. The following is Cromwell's reply:—

'I approve of the business; only I desire to advise you that your "foot company" may be turned into a troop of horse; which will indeed, under God's blessing, far more advantage the cause than two or three companies of foot; especially if your men be honest, godly men, which by all means I desire. I thank God for stirring up the youth to send in their mite, which I desire may be employed to the best advantage; therefore my advice is that you would employ your twelve score pounds to buy pistols and saddles, and I will provide four score horses; for 400*l.* more will not raise a troop of horse. . . . Pray raise honest, godly men, and I will have them of my regiment. As for your officers, I leave it as God shall or hath directed to choose.'

A victory obtained by Cromwell at this period, although it proved ineffectual in raising the siege of Gainsborough, yet afforded an early example of that decision, energy, and valour for which he subsequently became so remarkable.

Lord Willoughby, who held Gainsborough for the Parliament, was besieged by a portion of the Marquis of Newcastle's forces, under the command of General Cavendish. Cromwell gives his version of what took place in the following letter to the Committee of the

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Associated Counties at Cambridge, dated Huntingdon, July 31:—

'No man desires more to present you with encouragement than myself, because of the forwardness I find in you—to your honour be it spoken—to promote this great cause. And truly God follows us with encouragements, who is the God of blessings; and I beseech you let Him not lose his blessing upon us. They come in season and with all the advantages of heartening; as if God should say, "Up and be doing, and I will stand by you and help you." There is nothing to be feared but our own sin and sloth.

'It hath pleased the Lord to give your servant and soldiers a notable victory now at Gainsborough. I marched, after the taking of Burleigh House upon Wednesday, to Grantham, where I met about 300 horse and dragooners of Nottingham. With these, by agreement, we met the Lincolners at North Scarle, which is about ten miles from Gainsborough, upon Thursday in the evening, where we tarried until two of the clock in the morning; and then with our whole body advanced towards Gainsborough.

'About a mile and a half from the town we met a forlorn hope of the enemy of near 100 horse. Our dragooners laboured to beat them back, but not alighting off their horses, the enemy charged them and beat some four or five of them off their horses; our horse charged them and made them retire into their main body. We advanced and came to the bottom of a steep hill; we could not well get up but by some tracks, which our men essaying to do, a

body of the enemy endeavoured to hinder; whereon we prevailed and got the top of the hill.

'When we recovered the top of the hill, we saw a great body of the enemy's horse facing us at about a musket shot or less distance, and a good reserve of a full regiment of horse behind it. We endeavoured to put our men in as good order as we could. The enemy in the meantime advanced towards us to take us at disadvantage; but in such order as we were, we charged their great body, some flying on one side, and others on the other of the enemy's reserve, and our men pursuing them, had chase and execution about five or six miles.

'I, perceiving this body which was the reserve standing still unbroken, kept back my major, Whally, from the chase; and with my own troop, and the other of my regiment, in all being three troops, we got into a body. In this reserve stood General Cavendish, who one while faced me, another while faced four of the Lincoln troops, which was all of ours that stood upon the place, the rest being engaged in the chase. At last General Cavendish charged the Lincolners, and routed them. Immediately I fell on his rear with my three troops; which did so astonish him that he gave over the chase, and would fain have delivered himself from me. But I pressing on forced them down a hill, having good execution of them; and below the hill drove the General with some of his soldiers into a quagmire, where my captain-lieutenant slew him with a thrust under his short ribs. The rest of the body was wholly routed, not one man staying upon the place.

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'We then, after this defeat, which was so total, relieved the town with such powder and provisions as we brought. Which done, we had notice that there were six troops of horse and 300 foot on the other side of the town, about a mile off us. We desired some foot of my Lord Willoughby's, about 400, and with our horse and these foot marched towards them. When we came towards the place where their horses stood, we beat back with my troops about two or three troops of the enemy, who retired into a small village at the bottom of the hill. When we recovered the hill, we saw at the bottom, about a quarter of a mile from us, a regiment of foot; after that another; after that the Marquis of Newcastle's own regiment, consisting in all of about 500 foot colours, and a great body of horse; which, indeed, was Newcastle's army, which coming so unexpectedly put us to new consultations.

'My Lord Willoughby and I, being in the town, agreed to call off our foot. I went to bring them off, but before I returned, divers of the foot were engaged; the enemy advancing with his whole body. Our foot retreated in disorder, and with some loss got the town where now they are. Our horse came off also with some trouble, being wearied with the long fight, and their horses tired, yet faced the enemy's fresh horse, and by several removes got off without the loss of one man, the enemy following the rear with a great body. The honour of this retreat is due to God, as also all the rest: Major Whally did in this carry himself with all gallantry becoming a gentleman and a Christian.

'Thus you have this true relation as short as I could. What you are to do upon it, is next to be considered. If I could speak words to pierce your hearts with the sense of our and your condition, I would. If you will raise 2,000 foot at present to encounter this army of Newcastle's, to raise the siege, and to enable us to fight him, we doubt not, by the grace of God, but that we shall be able to relieve the town and beat the enemy on the other side of Trent. Whereas if something be not done in this, you will see Newcastle's army march up into your bowels; being now, as it is, on this side Trent. I know it will be difficult to raise thus many in so short time; but let me assure you it is necessary, and therefore to *be* done. At least, do what you may, with all possible expedition! I would I had the happiness to speak with one of you; truly I cannot come over, but must attend my charge; the enemy is vigilant. The Lord direct you what to do.'

Whitelock, in his memorials, remarks that this gallant encounter with Newcastle's forces was the 'beginning of Cromwell's great fortunes, and he now began to appear in the world.'

In another letter to a friend, written a day earlier, Cromwell mentions some additional details in reference to the death of General Cavendish. He says: 'Whilst the enemy was following our flying troops, I charged him on the rear with my three troops; drove him down the hill, brake him all to pieces, and forced Lieutenant-General Cavendish into a bog, who fought in this reserve. One officer cut him on the head; and as he lay, my captain, Lieutenant Berry, thrust him

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into the short ribs, of which he died about two hours after in Gainsborough.

But both Gainsborough and afterwards Lincoln, whither Willoughby had retreated, were obliged to surrender to the victorious royal army under Newcastle. In a desponding letter to Colonel Cromwell, written from Boston on August 5, Willoughby says: 'Since the business of Gainsborough, the hearts of our men have been so deaded, that we have lost most of them, by running away, so that we were forced to leave Lincoln upon a sudden; and if I had not done it then, I should have been left alone.'

His position even at Boston seemed very precarious, for he adds: 'If you will endeavour to stop my Lord of Newcastle, you must presently draw them (the Parliamentary troops) to him and fight him, for without we be masters of the field, we shall be pulled out by the ears one after the other.'

Willoughby was evidently not the person for a man like Cromwell patiently to act under; this letter, however, he made use of to frighten the Cambridge Commissioners, to whom he enclosed it, adding, 'You see by this how sadly your affairs stand. It's no longer disputing, but out instantly all you can; raise all your bands, send them to Huntingdon; get up what volunteers you can; hasten your horses. Send these letters to Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, without delay. I beseech you spare not, but be expeditious and industrious. Almost all our foot have left Stamford, there is nothing to interrupt the enemy but our horse. You must act lively; do it without distraction. Neglect no means.'

The Parliament meanwhile were doing all they could to strengthen Cromwell's hands. They voted that his men should have 'free quarters' everywhere on their march, and 2,000 additional troops to be raised out of the six associated counties; he was at the same time made governor of Ely, where the malignants formed a strong party.

The better to strengthen the Parliamentary cause throughout the country, the Scots were at this juncture invited to join in the national struggle. They consented, but with this proviso, which was agreed to, namely, that episcopacy should be abolished in England, and Presbyterianism become the established form of church government. A number of English and Scottish divines, therefore, were called together by Parliament in order to discuss this question, when, after some weeks' labour, and many committee meetings, the celebrated Westminster Confession of Faith was elaborated as the basis of the new arrangement. The meeting of this noted assembly at St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, must have been, to many churchmen, a sorrowful and self-evident proof, significant of the change public opinion had undergone since the days of Laud's supremacy. In this assembly were to be seen episcopalians, presbyterians, and nonconformists, but the Geneva gown greatly preponderated over the canonical robe of the High Church Divine, the episcopalians being in the minority. By command of the King, those clergy of the Established Church who had been summoned to the assembly were forbidden to take any part in the proceedings. Archbishop Usher, the most distin-

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guished among them, appeared at some of the early sittings, but afterwards withdrew, it is supposed by the King's command, and retired to Oxford.

The Covenant or Confession of Faith agreed to contained six articles, which may be briefly summed up, as having for their object the uniformity of Church government in matters of doctrine, faith, and form of worship; the extirpation of popery and prelacy, including the abolishment of bishops, deans, and chapters; the preservation of the rights and liberties of Parliament and of the kingdom; the discovery of malignants; and lastly the document concluded with a strongly expressed determination 'never to withdraw from this pious confederacy.'

Scotland responded by issuing a proclamation calling upon all the male population between the ages of sixteen and sixty, capable of bearing arms, to provide themselves with ammunition, arms, and provisions for forty days, and to hold themselves in readiness to march for the defence of the United Kingdom.

The town of Hull, held by Lord Fairfax for the Parliament, being besieged by the King's forces under the Earl of Newcastle, Cromwell wrote as follows to Oliver St. John: 'I am now ready for my march towards the enemy, who hath entrenched himself over against Hull; my Lord Newcastle having besieged the town.'

A few days later, the troops under the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell crossed the river into Lincolnshire, where they were joined by Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the whole of the horse, Lord Fairfax having no further occasion for them at present. Thus strengthened,

Cromwell and Fairfax came suddenly upon Sir John Henderson, on October 11, within five miles of Horncastle, in Lincolnshire. Sir John had a large army, and hearing that the Earl of Manchester's forces of foot had not yet joined the horse under Fairfax and Cromwell, he hastened in the hope of making the attack before the junction could be formed. No letter of Cromwell's is extant, but the following account of the battle is taken from Mears, who writes as a partizan of the Parliament, wherein it will be seen that Cromwell ran a serious risk of losing his life, greater in fact than on any subsequent occasion:— CHAP. VII. 1643

'The enemy drew their whole body of horse and dragooners into the field, being seventy-four colours of horse, and twenty-one colours of dragoons, in all ninety-five colours. We had not more than half so many colours of horse and dragooners, but I believe we had as many men, besides our foot, which, however, could not be drawn up until it was very late. The enemy's word was "Cavendish," he that was killed in the bog, and ours was "religion." . . . It was about twelve of the clock ere our horse and dragooners were drawn up.

'After that we marched a mile nearer the enemy, and then we began to descry him by little and little coming towards us. Until this time we did not know we should fight; but as soon as our men had knowledge of the enemy's coming, they were very full of joy and resolution, thinking it a great mercy that they should now fight with him. Our men went on in several bodies, singing psalms. Quartermaster-General Vermuyden, with five troops, held the

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forlorn hope, and Colonel Cromwell the van, assisted with other of my lord's troops, and seconded by Sir Thomas Fairfax. Both armies met about Ixbie (Winceby), if I mistake not the town's name.

'Both they and we had drawn up our dragooners, who gave the first charge, and then the horse fell in. Colonel Cromwell fell with brave resolution upon the enemy, immediately after their dragooners had given him the first volley, yet they were so nimble as that within half pistol shot they gave him another. His horse was killed under him at the first charge, and fell down upon him; and as he rose up, he was knocked down again; but afterwards he recovered a poor horse in a soldier's hands, and bravely mounted again. Truly this first charge was so home-given, and performed with so much admirable courage and resolution by our troops, that the enemy stood not another, but were driven back upon their own body, which was to have seconded them, and at last put them into a plain disorder; and thus, in less than half an hour's fight, they were all quite routed.'

According to Kimber, the officer who knocked the Colonel twice over was one Captain Portington, who is reported afterwards to have said, that when striking at Cromwell he aimed at his nose, but missed and struck the horse instead. This, however, may have been one of the many poor jokes on that peculiarly developed nasal organ his enemies were accustomed to perpetrate.

The remainder of the year passed in comparative tranquillity in the Eastern Associated Counties, and Oliver went home to Ely, where his wife and family

still resided. The death of Pym, in December, threw a gloom over the nation, happening as it did, so soon after the demise of the patriot Hampden. The removal of these early friends must have been keenly felt by their friend and companion, Oliver Cromwell. In the affairs of the world, how frequently the same law is observed at work in the social as in the natural sciences; and that which first makes its appearance, proves only to have been provisional and passes away. Those great minds, whose influence society has recognised, have seldom made their presence felt until the hey-day of youth has been passed, and the way paved for the reception of truths it was their mission to unfold. Moses, at forty, thought his time had come to deliver his brethren from Egyptian bondage; another forty years were to expire before the period when the lawgiver's services were to become acceptable.

Cromwell was never heard of until past forty. The labours of Hampden and Pym in the cause of freedom, important as they were, must nevertheless be ranked with the primary and provisional. Pym was early distinguished for that nervous, terse, and polished eloquence which had so great an influence over all who heard him, and gained for him among the working classes the title of King Pym. The wonderful facility with which he could adapt himself to all classes of hearers was, it is said, remarkable. His speech before the Lords, when sent by the Commons to impeach Laud, obtained for him a vote of thanks, and it was ordered to be printed. The same distinctive mark of approbation he also more than

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once received from the House of which he was himself an honoured member. Pym's remains were interred in Westminster Abbey. Death had been busy during the last year or two in other parts of the world. Among the painters, philosophers, and statesmen of the day many celebrated names had disappeared from the list of remarkable men. Richelieu, Sully, Strafford, Galileo, Guido, Vandyke, and Rubens, all had died within a short time of each other. In England it had been a period destructive to ecclesiastical power. Her bishops were scattered, their office no longer recognised or property respected, whilst their political influence had been annihilated.

Ruin had fallen on all alike—the faithful, the conscientious, and the time-serving. Hall, the pious bishop of Norwich, was greatly persecuted, his property sequestered, and he spent the rest of his days in poverty and neglect, his only crime being that he belonged to the system. Laud, to whom may be traced, more or less, the cause of all these disasters, was still in the Tower, awaiting his trial. He has left on record a curious diary, detailing his daily hopes and fears during this eventful period. We quote an extract or two, which may be interesting to some, and useful to others, in the present day.

'Sunday, May 15, 1642. I made a shift between my man and my staff to go to church. There preached one Mr. Jostin. To pass over what was strangely evil throughout his sermon, his personal abuse of me was so foul and so palpable, that women and boys stood up in the church to see how I could bear it. And this was my first welcome into the

church after my long lameness. But I humbly thank God for it; for I bore his virulence patiently, and so it vanished, as did much other of a like nature, which I suffered both before and after this. God forgive them. August 19. Captain Royden and his company, by order of Parliament, came in the evening to my house at Lambeth, to take away my arms; they stayed there all night, and searched my room; and the next morning they carried my arms away in carts to Guildhall, and I was sufficiently abused all the way by the people as my arms passed. CHAP. VII. 1643

'They gave out there were arms for 1,000 men, whereas there were not enough for 200, and the arms I bought of my predecessor's executors. Sept. 1. This day the bishops were voted down by the House of Commons, and that night there was great ringing and bonfires in the City.

'September 10. The bishops were voted down in the Upper House; so it seems I must live to see my calling fall before me. On Wednesday, Nov. 2, I dreamed that the church was undone, and that I went to St. John's in Oxford, where I found the roof off, and the walls ready to fall down. God be merciful!

'January 26, 1643. The bill passed the Lords' House for abolishing the episcopacy. God be merciful to this sinking church. May 1. The windows of my chapel at Lambeth were defaced, and the steps of the communion table torn up; and on Tuesday, May 2, the cross in Cheapside was taken down, to cleanse that great street of superstition.'

The following entry refers to his unfortunate victim Prynne, whose ears, it may be remembered, 'were

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sawed rather than cut off,' when suffering under the tyranny of the Archbishop.'

'May 31. A search came into the tower, upon all the prisoners, for letters and papers. Mr. Prynne was picked out as a man whose malice might be trusted to make the search upon me, and he did it exactly thus. He commanded the warder to open the door; left two centinels below, and one at the stair head. He came into my chamber, and found me in bed, as were also my servants in theirs. I presently thought of my blessed Saviour, when Judas led in the swords and staves about him.

'Mr. Prynne, seeing me safe in bed, falls first to my pockets to rifle them . . . I demanded the sight of his warrant; he shewed it me. He took from me twenty-one bundles of papers which I had prepared for my defence; the two letters which came from his gracious Majesty about Chartham; the Scotch Service Book; a little book or diary containing the occurrences of my life, and my book of private devotions; nor could I get him to leave the last, but he must needs see what passed between God and me. The last place which he rifled was a trunk which stood at my bed-side; in that he found nothing but about 40*s.* for my necessary expenses, which he meddled not with, and a bundle of gloves; he caused each glove to be looked into; upon this I tendered him one pair of the gloves which he refusing, I told them he might take them and fear no bribe, for he had already done for me all the mischief he could, and I asked no favour of him; so he thanked me, took the gloves, bound up my papers, left two centinels at my door, and went his way.'

It is but anticipating a few months in order to close the sad career of this mischievous, insolent, arbitrary, and overbearing high-churchman. The diary taken away by Prynne, from which most of the extracts already quoted are taken, discloses many curious and interesting facts which otherwise would probably never have come to light. There is yet one other entry, the last he ever made:—

'Jan. 3, 1645. The managers of this business against me (the attainder) were three lawyers, Mr. Brown, Sergeant Wilde, and Mr. Nicholas. Neither myself or any of my counsel there. What this will effect upon the Lords time must discover, as it doth the effects of other eclipses; and thus far I had proceeded in this sad history by Jan. 3, 1645.'

On the day following the bill of attainder passed; and a week later, namely, on January 10, he met his death with great fortitude on Tower Hill.

CHAPTER VIII.

Extract from Evelyn's Diary—The Scots' Army, under General Leven, appears in the North of England—Cromwell and the Authorities of Ely Cathedral—Saints by Act of Parliament—Cromwell during the Winter of 1643–4—Siege of York—Cromwell's Forces join the Scots' Army—Battle of Marston Moor—Cromwell's Description of it to his Brother-in-law—Disastrous Consequences to the Royalists—Cromwell Besieges Knaresborough Castle—An interesting Glimpse of him—Severe Reverses of the Parliamentary Forces in the South, under General Walker—Essex surrounded by the Royalist Army—Departs for Plymouth, leaving Skippon to make Terms with the King—Battle of Newbury—Defeat of the Royalists, who retreat followed by Cromwell—Mutual Mistrust existing between Lord Manchester and Oliver Cromwell—The latter leaves for London—The Presbyterian Generals unite in order to effect Cromwell's Removal—Whitelock's amusing Account of a Meeting held for this object—Archbishop Williams counsels the King to beware of Cromwell—Conclusion of the Campaign—Cromwell, in the House of Commons, charges the Earl of Manchester with Lukewarmness—Counter-charges of the Earl—Cromwell's spirited Rejoinder—The Self-denying Ordinance passed—The Army ordered to be Re-modelled, and Fairfax appointed Commander-in-chief—The King's expressed Readiness to listen to Terms of Peace not believed in—Parliament appoint Commissioners to wait upon his Majesty—Private Interview between the King and some of the Commissioners—The King consents to a Conference, which met at Uxbridge—Insincerity of his Majesty proved by the Royal Correspondence discovered after the Battle of Naseby.

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EVELYN in his 'Diary,' relates that a singular phenomenon was observable in the heavens about this period. He says: 'A shining cloud was seen in the air in shape resembling a sword, the point reaching to the *north*; it was as bright as the moon, and was in sight from eleven till one.' The tendency of men's minds towards the supernatural naturally led many to expect an explanation in the direction of the heavens

indicated; and when shortly after the Scottish army appeared on the scene as the partisans and champions of the English Parliament, the solution of the phenomenon was considered satisfactory and conclusive. The Scots' army, consisting of 18,000 foot and 3,500 horse, under the command of the Earl of Leven, marched southward in the month of January, and entered England three days after the Parliament had resumed its sittings. Presbyterianism in arms gave a great impetus to the Puritan cause, which latterly, from want of success, had been somewhat in a drooping condition. Not so, however, in Cromwell's district. He had recently been promoted, for his zeal against the malignants in Church and State, to the rank of a Major-General. As Governor of Ely the delinquent dean and chapter of that cathedral already had reason to know that their doings were being closely watched. An order had been issued to suspend the ritual service, which the ecclesiastical authorities thought proper to disregard. On this Cromwell wrote to the dean as follows:

'Lest the soldiers should in any tumultuary or disorderly way attempt the reformation of the cathedral church, I require you to forbear altogether your choir-service, so unedifying and offensive; and this as you shall answer it if any disorder should arise thereupon. I advise you to catechise and read and expound the Scripture to the people, not doubting but the Parliament, with the advice of the Assembly of Divines, will direct you farther. I desire your sermons where usually they have been—but more frequent.'

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There was, however, no disposition on the part of the dean to submit to this dictum, so the soldiers one day suddenly appeared in the sanctuary with Cromwell at their head, and made short work of it by turning out the minister, choir, and congregation, and closing the doors.

Episcopacy fared little better elsewhere, for in an old newspaper of the time we read: 'At the great cathedral (Westminster Abbey), where was wont to be heard the roaring of the organ and the cathedral catches of Morley, is set up an orthodox preaching ministry; and this last week the golden crucifixes and the rest of that popish crew of idolatrous pictures were all broken down and plastered up in a decent comely manner.' 'Farewell,' writes another jocund jubilant contemporary, when the Prayer Book was abolished; 'farewell all superstition; first and second services, Te Deums, Litany, and the whole bundle of collects, praying over the dead, enormities of baptism, and Ash Wednesday cursings.' But the Puritans had yet to learn that neither in nations nor individuals were people to be made saints by Act of Parliament. Holding this error, the State Puritans differed in this matter but little from their brethren of the robe and surplice, however great and striking may have been their dissimilarity in doctrine, form, and ceremony. The Long Parliament, in the vain hope of rooting out profligacy in the bud, pertinaciously attempted to put down all kinds of public amusements, theatres, sports, and sober pastimes, whilst at the same time the tavern was left uncontrolled, to provide a wretched and demoralising substitute. The Catechism no longer

occupied the afternoon service in the place of the sermon, nor was the 'Book of Sports' permitted to inculcate its Sabbath desecrations. Unfortunately, however, the Puritans fell into the other extreme; and long prayers, longer sermons, days of fastings and so-called national humiliations, now became more and more frequent. Even a public meeting could not be held, nor a public dinner given, without the preliminary sermon. In one of the old newspapers we are told that the sheriffs, 'with divers aldermen and militia of London, came by direction of the Lord Mayor and City to invite both Houses to dine with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council at Merchant Taylors' Hall. A sermon was ordered before dinner.' The King's children, who appear to have been left to the tender mercies of the Parliament, did not escape, for we read elsewhere the following:

'The nurses, laundresses, and rockers, are ordered to be removed from St. James's House, and six divines are appointed to preach constantly before the children at St. James's.' At this period it was customary for the House to meet at nine o'clock in the morning and sit till twelve. Any member arriving after nine paid twelve pence fine, and any member 'making a notice' after twelve, five shillings, for the use of the poor.

Frequent glimpses of Cromwell hurrying hither and thither during the dark winter months of 1643–4 are to be met with in the scattered but authentic contemporaneous history of the period. We have just seen him early in January potently regulating church ritual matters in Ely cathedral: later

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in the same month he is in the House of Commons, complaining of my Lord Willoughby's 'backwardness as a general:' he who could not 'hold out' at Gainsborough and Lincoln, and who wrote from Boston expecting himself and his men to be 'pulled out by the ears one after the other.' This kind of general was plainly not the right man in the right place according to the Ironside standard, and at Cromwell's suggestion the Earl of Manchester was appointed in his stead. Up to this period the best understanding had existed between the earl and Cromwell: it lasted, however, but a short time longer, as will be seen.

In February Cromwell is heard of in the midland counties, whither he had been sent to guard some ammunition-waggons during removal from Warwick to Gloucester. On his return, he took forcible possession, in the name of the Parliament, of Hilsden House, Buckinghamshire, with much plunder, which was seized and transported to head-quarters.

It would appear that sectarian differences in the army had already appeared, and the unanimity of opinion on religious questions—so remarkable a feature hitherto among the Parliamentary forces—was daily becoming more and more divergent. A significant proof of this is afforded in the following extract from a letter written by Cromwell to Major-General Crawford, on behalf of a certain lieutenant-colonel, who had been arrested by Crawford.

'Surely you are not well advised thus to turn off one so faithful to the cause, and so able to serve you, as this man is. Give me leave to tell you I cannot be of your judgment; if a man notorious for wicked-

ness, for oaths, for drinking, hath as great a share of your affection as one who fears an oath, who fears to sin—that this doth commend your election of men to serve as fit instruments in this work. "Aye, but the man is an 'Anabaptist.'" Are you sure of that? Admit he be, shall that render him incapable to serve the public? "He is indiscreet." It may be so in some things; we have all human infirmities; I tell you if you had none but such "indiscreet men" about you, and would be pleased to use them kindly, you would find them as good a fence to you as any you have yet chosen.

'Sir, the State, in choosing men to serve it, takes no notice of their opinions; if they be willing faithfully to serve it, that satisfies. I advised you formerly to bear with men of different minds from yourself. If you had done it when I advised you to it, I think you would not have had so many stumbling-blocks in your way.

'It may be you judge otherwise, but I tell you my mind. I desire you would receive this man into your favour and good opinion. I believe, if he follow my counsel, he will deserve no other but respect from you. Take heed of being sharp, or too easily sharpened by others, against those to whom you can object little but that they square not with you in every opinion concerning matters of religion. If there be any other offence to be charged upon him, that must in a judicial way receive determination. I know you will not think it fit my Lord (Manchester) should discharge an officer of the field but in a regulate way. I question whether you, or I, have any precedent for that.'

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The Parliamentary forces under Manchester and Cromwell were now commanded to join the Scotch army drawing towards York, whither the Earl of Newcastle, with 6,000 troops lay, strongly entrenched. After a most rapid march, Cromwell effected a junction with his horse, and the seige was at once begun in earnest. The three armies, under Lords Leven, Fairfax, and the Earl of Manchester, greatly outnumbered the King's troops, who must have been compelled to surrender at discretion had not the timely arrival of a large force dispatched by the King, under Prince Rupert, relieved the place. That the Parliamentary generals should have decided on withdrawing from York when that junction took place appears inexplicable, for by so doing they afforded an opportunity, which was instantly made available by Prince Rupert, of replenishing Newcastle's army with stores of food and ammunition, besides strengthening his own forces by the addition of those serving under Newcastle. Probably they concluded, as it rightly turned out, that the Prince, after raising the siege, would next proceed to give them battle. They therefore removed to the open country, a few miles distant from York, and encamped on Marston Moor, there to await the anticipated event which quickly followed; for Rupert, flushed with his success at York, hastened after the parliamentary forces to the field of their own choice.

The battle of Marston Moor was fought on July 2. Both armies, according to Rushworth, were pretty nearly equal; the total number of troops on both sides amounted in round numbers to about 50,000

men. The accounts extant of this engagement, said to have been the most bloody and desperate of all that were fought during the civil war, are so conflicting and contradictory, that it is impossible to place before the reader any details on which he may with confidence rely. Perhaps the most authentic, although meagre statement, is contained in the following letter, written by Cromwell three days later to his brother-in-law, Colonel Valentine Walton, whose son fell mortally wounded on the field of battle:—

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'It's our duty to sympathise in all mercies; and to praise the Lord together, in chastisements or trials, that so we may sorrow together.

'Truly, England and the church of God hath had a great favour from the Lord in this great victory given unto us, such as the like never was since this war begun. It had all the evidences of an absolute victory obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. The left wing which I commanded, being our own horse, saving a few Scots in our rear, beat all the prince's horse. God made them as stubble to our swords. We charged their regiments of foot with our horse, and routed all we charged. The particulars I cannot relate now, but I believe of twenty thousand the prince hath not four thousand left. Give glory, all the glory, to God.

'Sir, God hath taken away your eldest son by a cannon shot: it brake his leg. We were necessitated to have it cut off, whereof he died. Sir, you know my own trial this way; but the Lord supported me

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with this—that the Lord took him into the happiness we all pant for and live for. There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. He was a gallant young man, exceedingly gracious. God give you His comfort. Before his death he was so full of comfort that to Frank Russel and myself he could not express it: "It was so great above his pain." This he said to us; indeed it was admirable. A little after, he said, one thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him what that was? He told me it was that God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies. At his fall—his horse being killed with the bullet, and as I am informed, three horses more—I am told he bid them open to the right and left, that he might see the rogues run. Truly he was exceedingly beloved in the army of all that knew him. But few knew him; for he was a precious young man, fit for God. You have cause to bless the Lord: he is a glorious saint in heaven, wherein you ought exceedingly to rejoice. Let this drink up your sorrows; seeing these are not feigned words to comfort you, but the thing is so real and undoubted a truth. You may do all things by the strength of Christ. Seek *that*, and you shall easily bear your trial. Let this public mercy to the church of God make you to forget your private sorrow. The Lord be your strength.'

These were words of comfort, doubtless, to the sorrowing parent, coming as they did from one in whose ears the fierce strife of battle had scarcely died away.

The battle commenced at seven o'clock in the

evening, and was over by ten. The results were most disastrous to the King's cause. The prince's whole train of artillery was taken, besides 3,000 prisoners, 10,000 stand of arms, and all the baggage and magazine waggons. 3,000 of the Prince's troops were said to have been slain, and the pursuit was continued until within a mile of York, which city yielded to the Parliamentary forces a few days after.

Prince Rupert, and the few troops he could collect after the defeat, retreated into Cumberland and Westmoreland, where he joined the King's forces in the border counties, followed by Cromwell with 3,000 troops. The Earl of Newcastle, accompanied by a number of the defeated officers and the discontented royalist gentry of the district, hastened to the coast, and embarked from Scarborough for Hamburg.

By this victory the whole of the north of England, with but few exceptions, was in possession of the Parliament, and what was of much importance to the metropolis, the coal district, which had been closed for a long period, was again opened to the traffic of the south, and the inhabitants of London no longer obliged to depend on the scanty supply of turf which they had been compelled to use as a substitute.

Cromwell, after driving the flying troops of the Royalists some miles westward, appears to have turned his steps in the direction of the Fen district, which more especially depended upon him for protection; for we find him at Lincoln on September 1, writing a remonstrance to the Committee for the Isle of Ely, who had taken upon themselves to release

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certain persons who had been committed to prison by Major Ireton as enemies. He writes as one having authority:—'I have given order to Captain Husband to see them recommitted to the hand of my marshal, and I much desire you for the future not to entrench upon me so much as to release them or any committed in the like case by myself, or my deputy and commanders in the garrison, until myself or some superior authority be satisfied in the cause . . . For I profess I will not be governor, nor engage any other under me, to undertake such a charge upon such "weak terms."' It must have been during the pursuit of the King's troops, or when returning towards his own district, that Cromwell entered Knaresborough, and besieged the castle with some of Lord Fairfax's troops. The exact date does not transpire. The castle yielded after a slight resistance. There is an interesting circumstance connected with this visit to Knaresborough, relating to him at this period, told by an eye-witness, who says:—

'When Cromwell came to lodge at our house in Knaresborough I was then but a young girl. Being ordered to take a pan of coals to air his bed, I could not forbear peeping over my shoulder several times; he was seated at the far side of the room, untying his garters. Having aired his bed, I went out and shut the door after me, and peeped through the key-hole. I saw him rise from his seat, advance to the bed side, and fall on his knees, in which attitude I left him for some time. When I returned again, I found him still at prayer. And this was his custom every night, so long as he stayed at our house.'

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The Parliamentary forces thus triumphant in the north met, however, with severe reverses in the south of England, where the King in person encountered Essex, who had incautiously suffered himself to be separated from the Parliamentary army under Waller, and had retreated into Cornwall closely followed by the royal army, now joined by Prince Rupert, who came with fresh troops collected during his march. In this emergency application appears to have been made to Cromwell for assistance, which, however, he was unable to render, as appears from the following, written on September 6, to his brother-in-law, Colonel Walton:—

'We do with grief of heart resent the sad condition of our army in the west, and of affairs there. That business has our hearts in it, and truly had we wings we would fly thither. So soon as ever my Lord (Manchester) and the foot set me loose, there shall be in me no want to hasten what I can to that service. For indeed all other considerations are to be laid aside, and to give place as being of far more importance. I hope the kingdom shall see that in the midst of our necessities we shall serve them without disputes. We hope to forget our wants, which are exceeding great and ill cared for; and desire to refer the many slanders heaped upon us by false tongues to God, who will in due time make it appear to the world that we study the glory of God and the honour and liberty of the Parliament, for which we unanimously fight, without seeking our own interests. Indeed we never find our men so cheerful as when there is work to do. I trust you will always so hear

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of them. The Lord is our strength, and in Him is all our hope. Pray for us. Present my love to my friends; I beg their prayers. The Lord still bless you.

'We have some amongst us slow in action. If we could all intend our own ends less, and our ease too, our business in this army would go on wheels for expedition. Because some of us are enemies to rapine and other wickednesses, we are said to be "factious," to seek to maintain "our opinions in religion by force," which we detest and abhor.

'I profess I could never satisfy myself of the justness of this war but from the authority of the Parliament to maintain itself in its rights. And in this cause I hope to approve myself an honest man and single-hearted.

'Pardon me that I am thus troublesome. I write but seldom; it gives me a little ease to pour my mind, in the midst of calumnies, into the bosom of a friend.'

Two months after the battle of Marston Moor the Royalist forces had their revenge in Cornwall, whither Essex was overtaken and surrounded by an army numerically superior to his own, his only alternative being to fight or to surrender. He chose the latter; not, however, before he effected his own escape to Plymouth, leaving Skippon to make the best terms he could for the Parliamentary troops, who ultimately had to lay down their arms, give up their artillery and stores, and engage not to serve again against the King. They were to be allowed to retain whatever money they had about them; but this order was not strictly

observed, for some of them as they marched forth were pillaged by the King's troops. Skippon perceiving this, rode up to the King, who stood by to see them pass, and remonstrated that it was against his Majesty's honour and justice that the soldiers should be pillaged contrary to the articles, and desired his Majesty to give an order to restrain them, which, says Whitelock, the King did.

The Parliament now made energetic efforts to get together a new and more powerful army to oppose the triumphant Royalist forces who were marching towards London from the West. The City train bands, amounting to 5,000 men, were called out. The division under Waller was ordered to join the forces of the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell. Thus reinforced, the Parliamentary army encountered the King's troops, and the battle of Newbury was fought on Sunday, October 27. The fight began about three o'clock in the afternoon, and continued until darkness put an end to the strife.

The King withdrew his troops during the night in the direction of Oxford; nor could the energetic Cromwell prevail upon the cautious commander-in-chief to attack them during their retreat, although it was a beautiful moonlight evening, and every motion of the retreating troops was plainly visible to the Parliamentary army. Cromwell, however, followed them with some of his horse until two hours before daylight; the King's person was said to have been in danger once or twice during the pursuit. The Royalists, however, made good their retreat to Oxford; and Cromwell returned disgusted at the caution, not

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to say timidity, displayed by Manchester on this occasion, who is reported to have said, in reply to Cromwell's remonstrance, that, 'if they lost their army pursuing the King they had no other, and the King might hang them all'—a line of reasoning of all others the least likely to impress him to whom it was addressed. In fact, matters between the two generals had now approached a crisis, and shortly after each accused the other in the House of Commons. From this period the rupture between the Independents and the Presbyterians became no longer a question of doubt. For a long time previously there had been secret bickerings and jealousies, but matters had latterly come to such a pass that Cromwell deemed open rupture preferable to the continuance of the secret mistrust which was fast disorganizing the Parliament's forces.

The reluctance shown by Lord Manchester to push his advantages after the Newbury fight decided Cromwell, and he left the army and the general for London, in order to lay his complaints before the Government. But these disagreements were not confined unfortunately to the two generals; a jealousy between two other commanders, Waller and Essex, had prevented mutual co-operation and assistance on more than one occasion. Essex charged Waller with wishing to sacrifice him, and Waller, retorted by reproaching Essex with want of courage and judgment, with indecision and vacillation.

To get Cromwell removed from the army now became the paramount object of the three Presbyterian commanders, Lords Leven, Essex, and Manchester.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, although a Presbyterian, and according to Clarendon one who could agree in nothing that Cromwell did, and yet contributed to bring about all that ultimately came to pass, alone stood his friend among the generals. Envy at Cromwell's military fame and success no doubt lay at the root of all this animosity; but his boldness, promptness of action, and decision, ultimately triumphed, and extricated him from their designs, as will be seen.

Whitelock relates an amusing account of what took place at a meeting called together by Essex, to devise a scheme for the ruin of Cromwell, at which the Commissioners from Scotland were present. Both Whitelock and Maynard, friends of Oliver, were also at the meeting.

They found assembled at the house of the Earl of Essex, Hollis, Philip Stapleton, Sir John Meyrick, Essex, and the Commisioners; and the Scotch Chancellor Loudon opened the matter in the following characteristic style:—

'You ken vary weel that Lieutenant-General Cromwell is no friend of ours, and since the advance of our army into England he has used all underhand and cunning means to take off from our honour. . . . It is thought requisite for us, and for carrying on the cause of the twa kingdoms, that this obstacle be removed, whom we see will be no small impediment to us in the gude design we have undertaken. He is not only no friend to us and our church, but he is also no well-wisher to his Excellency. . . . You ken vary weel the accord betwixt the twa nations,

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and the union by the solemn League and Covenant: and if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how is he to be proceeded against? . . . . Now ye may ken that by our law in Scotland we call him an incendiary who kindleth coals of contention to the public damage. . . . Whether your law be the same or not, you ken best.' To which Whitelock replied 'that the sense of the word "incendiary" was the same here as in Scotland, but whether the Lieutenant-General Cromwell be such must be proved. . . . That he looked upon him as a gentleman of quick and subtle parts, and who had great interest in both Houses of Parliament, and that it would be needful to collect such passages as would be sufficient to prove him an incendiary before they could expect the Parliament to proceed against him.'

Mr. Hollis and Sir John Philips replied, that Cromwell had not that interest in the Parliament as was supposed, and *they* would willingly join in the accusation; but the Scotch Commissioners said they were not so willing or ready to join with them in it. and so Oliver escaped.

Whilst his enemies in London were thus secretly occupied in plotting his destruction, royalty was endeavouring to compass the same ends at Oxford, whither the King had summoned Williams, Archbishop of York, in order to consult about the present state of affairs. After recommending the King to agree with the Parliament in consequence of the unanimity between the English and Scotch nations in reference to the civil war, the prelate remarked, that the English, by the experience of the past two years

in the art of war, had became expert; he then added: 'Have a care of Cromwell; he is the most dangerous enemy your Majesty has; therefore either win him over to your Majesty's side by promises of fair treatment, or catch him by some stratagem and cut him short;' to which the King replied, 'I would some one would do me the good service to bring Cromwell to me, dead or alive.'

Williams, when previously occupying the See of Lincoln, it is to be remembered, had known Cromwell in former years when residing at Buckden in the neighbourhood of Huntingdon. There was, moreover, a distant relationship between them, for in a letter written by Cromwell some two years hence 'to my Lord of York,' Cromwell styles himself 'Your cousin and servant.' The unscrupulous advice to 'win him over' or 'cut him short' came, therefore, from one who knew something of the man he was speaking of.

The campaign ended, and the forces on both sides having gone into winter quarters, Cromwell made his appearance in the House of Commons on November 23, and exhibited charges against the Earl of Manchester, in which he accused the earl of 'having always been indisposed and backward to engagements, and the ending of the war by the sword; and for *such* a peace as a victory would be a disadvantage to, and hath declared this by principles express to that purpose, and a continual series of carriage and actions answerable.

'That since the taking of York, as if the Parliament had now advantage fully enough, he hath declined whatsoever tended to further advantage upon the enemy; neglected and shifted off oppor-

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tunities to that purpose, as if he thought the King too low and the Parliament too high.

'That he hath drawn the army into and detained them in such a posture as to give the enemy fresh advantages, and this before his conjunction with the other armies, by his own absolute will, against or without his council of war; against many commands of both kingdoms, and with contempt and vilifying of these commands; and since the conjunction, sometimes against the councils of war, and sometimes by persuading and deluding the council to neglect one opportunity with pretence of another, and at last by persuading that it was not fit to fight at all.'

These charges were met by counter-charges about a week later in the House of Lords. The principal fact relied on was to the effect that Cromwell had been ordered to proceed with his troops of horse on some service, shortly after the affair at Newbury, but had answered that the horses were not in a condition to go from overwork. 'If your lordship,' said he 'wants to have the skins of the horses, this is the way to get them.'

A fortnight later, it was moved and carried, that all members having any military duties in the army should withdraw from the latter. In the debate which ensued Lieutenant-General Cromwell said:—

'It is now a time to speak, or for ever hold the tongue. The important occasion now is no less than to save the nation out of a bleeding, nay almost dying condition, which the long continuation of this war hath already brought it unto; so that without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the

war, casting off all lingering proceedings like soldiers of fortune beyond sea to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a Parliament. For what do the enemy say? Nay, what do many say that were friends at the beginning of Parliament? Even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands, and what by interest in Parliament, what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces, is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any. I know the worth of those commanders, members of both Houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience without reflection upon any, I do conceive if the army be not put into another method and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace. But this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander-in-chief upon any occasion whatsoever; for as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can rarely be avoided in military affairs. Therefore, waving a strict enquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy, which is most necessary. And I hope we have such true English hearts and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no member of either House will scruple to deny themselves and their private

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interests for the public good, nor account it to be a dishonour done to them whatever the Parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty affair.'

In the course of the debate it was argued that the measure would cause great discontent among the soldiers who served under those commanders whose military services were thus to be suspended. Cromwell for one, however, was of a different opinion, for he rose and said: 'Mr. Speaker, I am not of the mind that the calling in of the members to sit in Parliament will break or scatter our armies. I can speak this for my own soldiers, that they look not upon me, but upon *you*; and for you they will fight, and live, and die in your cause; and if others be of that mind that they are of, you need not fear them. They do not idolise me, but look upon the cause they fight for. You may lay upon them what commands you please they will obey your commands in that cause they fight for.'

The Self-denying Ordinance, as it was styled, nevertheless passed on December 19, and the Commons proceeded to remodel the army, which they voted should consist of 21,000 men, Sir Thomas Fairfax being appointed General-in-Chief.

During the last campaign the King had repeatedly expressed a readiness to listen to terms of peace, but his sincerity was not believed in, it being patent to everyone that to gain time for his expected succours to arrive was that he had in view; besides he hoped to bring the Parliament into bad odour with the nation for desiring to continue the war.

When, however, the year's campaign was over, the two Houses thought the time had arrived to show to the nation what were the views the King entertained of a real substantial peace, and also what were the guarantees in the way of concessions towards obtaining a constitutional government he would offer. Accordingly, when the King returned to Oxford, on November 20, the Parliament sent to desire a safe conduct for their peace Commissioners; but his Majesty refused to recognise them, except as private individuals. The Parliament at length agreed to waive the point, and the Commissioners having a safe-conduct granted them, proceeded to Oxford.

At their first interview the King demanded whether they had power to treat, to which they replied in the negative; also adding that they were only permitted to receive his Majesty's answer in writing and transmit it to the Parliament. 'Then,' said the King, 'a letter-carrier would have done as well as you.'

The terms proposed by the Parliament were then read, wherein it unmistakeably appeared that as a preliminary the King was required to acknowledge the two Houses as the Parliament of England. He heard the propositions read with attention, and promised to give them an answer in due course. Meanwhile two of the Parliamentary Commissioners, Whitelock and Hollis, were privately sounded by the Earl of Lindsey, who sent to invite them to pay him a visit. Strange to say they not only went, but also with the consent and approbation of the rest of the Commissioners. Whitelock has recorded what occurred at this interview.

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They found the earl in bed, and suffering from some indisposition. Shortly after they had been in the room, the King, much to their astonishment, entered, and had a long conference with them. 'I know,' he said, 'that *you* are both desirous of peace, and I wish that all the rest of the members were of your opinion; therefore, out of the confidence I have of you two, I ask your advice what answer will be best for me to give at this time to your propositions, which may probably further such a peace as all good men desire?' Whitelock answered, 'The best and most satisfactory answer, I humbly believe, would be your Majesty's presence with your Parliament, and which I hope might be without danger to you.'

The King perceiving they did not care to speak their minds before so much company, said, 'I desire you two to go into the next room, confer a little together, and set down in writing what you apprehend may be fit for me to return in answer to your message.' Whereupon they withdrew into another room, and, by Hollis's entreaty, Whitelock wrote down what was their sense in this matter.

The day following the King sent in a sealed packet without any superscription, but the Commissioners refused to receive it unless he gave them a copy. 'What is the answer to you, who are but to carry what I send? and if I send the song of Robin Hood and Little John you must carry it,' was the King's rejoinder. He, however, thought proper to comply with their request; it was simply a demand for safe-conduct for two noblemen to come with his answer. On the receipt of this document the two Houses

replied that if his Majesty would direct his communication 'to the Parliament of England, *assembled* at *Westminster*, and to the Commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, they would with all readiness grant a safe-conduct.' After much debate and consultation, his Majesty was prevailed upon by his friends to comply, contenting himself, however, by making a private protestation against this recognition of the Parliament.

Preliminaries being thus settled, the King's Commissioners proceeded to London, and the results of their negociations led to the conference which met at Uxbridge on January 30 following. It is scarcely necessary to trouble the reader with the details of the Treaty of Uxbridge, the failure of which it was easy to anticipate from the known motives, objects, and views of the contracting parties.

Fortunately for the Parliament the King's insincerity and duplicity in this transaction has been placed beyond all doubt by the correspondence between himself and the Queen, discovered in his cabinet after the battle of Naseby.

From Paris, on December 6, the Queen writes: 'I understand that the Commissioners are arrived at London. I have nothing to say but that you have a care of your honour, and that, if you have a peace, it may be such as may hold; and if it fall out otherwise, that you do not abandon those who have served you, for fear they do forsake you in your need. Also I do not see how you can be in safety without a regiment of guards; for myself, I think I cannot be, seeing the malice which they have against me and my religion,

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of which I hope you will have a care of both; but, in my opinion, religion should be the last thing upon which you should treat. For if you do agree upon strictness against the Catholics, it would discourage them to serve you; and if afterwards there should be no peace, you could never expect succours either from Ireland or any Catholic prince, for they would believe you would abandon them after you had served yourself.'

The King replies: 'Know, as a certain truth, that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more to show my real intentions to peace. And likewise I am put in very good hope that if I should come to a fair treaty the ringleading rebels would not hinder me from a good peace: first, because their own party are almost weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time most assuredly are amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in religion, and general against general in point of command. . . . . I have joined conditions with the propositions, without which this sound will signify nothing, which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. . . . This, I hope, will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by malicious rumours; and though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet I held this account necessary, to the end thou mayest make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth, that no danger, or death, or misery, shall make me do anything unworthy of thy love.

'I conclude by conjuring thee as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace, nor hopeful condition of mine, make thee neglect to hasten succours for him who is eternally thine.'

'Copy to my wife Dec. 1644, by Tom Elliot.'

Again he writes, on January 1:—

'I shall tell thee that the rebels are engaged into an equal treaty, and the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect, as now. Lastly, that assistance was never more likely as now to do good.'

But the following, written a day later, is more significant.:—

'As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction of this in general. If there had been but two besides myself of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways *acknowledge* them *to be* a Parliament. Upon which condition and construction I did, and no otherwise; and accordingly it is registered in the Council books with the Council's unanimous approbation.'

Fearing lest the rumour of peace should slacken the efforts making abroad, the King writes again on January 22:—

'I desire thee to show the Queen (of France) and Ministers there the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great strange difference, if not contrariety of grounds, that are betwixt the rebels' propositions and mine, and that I canot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, till they

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be out of hope to prevail by force, which a little assistance by thy means will soon make them be. For I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive, which a reasonable sum of money would do, they would be easily brought to reason.'

'Have a care,' says the Queen in her reply, 'not to abandon those who have served you; as well the bishops as the poor Catholics.'

In another letter written from Oxford, and dated February 15, the King says:—

'As for our treaty, there is every day less hopes that it will produce a peace; but I will absolutely promise thee that if we can have one it shall be such as shall invite thy return; for I vow that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating are almost expired without the least agreement upon any one article; wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world; and I assure thee that thou needest not doubt the issue of this treaty, for my Commissioners are so chosen that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which, upon my word, is according to the little note thou so well remembereth.

'In short, there is little or no appearance but that this (next) summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace, I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual Parliament. But as thou lovest me, let none persuade thee

to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine.'

As a stimulus to the Queen in her efforts to obtain pecuniary assistance, the King writes, a few days later:—

'I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with, for my assistance; it is, that I give thee power in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit); that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in England as soon as God shall make me able to do it, so as by their means, or in their favour, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour and enable me to do it.'

One more extract will suffice. It reflects no credit on his Majesty, for it seems that those who had faithfully followed him to Oxford, to the utter ruin of their property, were equally maligned with the rest of the members of the celebrated Long Parliament.

'What I told thee last week concerning a good parting with my Lords and Commons *here* was on Monday last handsomely performed. . . . I being now well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say our *mongrel Parliament here*) as of the chief causers, from whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee for having suffered thee to be vexed by them.'

CHAPTER IX..

Failure of the Uxbridge Treaty and renewal of the Struggle—The Self-denying Ordinance suspended to enable Cromwell to join the Army at this juncture—Cromwell and his Troop of Ironsides successfully encounter the Royalists at Islip Bridge—The King marches towards Chester, which is deserted by the Parliamentary General Brereton—His Majesty appears before Leicester and takes the Town by Storm—Failure of the Committee of both Kingdoms sitting in London successfully to direct Military Operations—The Fen District threatened by the Royalist Forces—Cromwell's Assistance petitioned for by the Inhabitants—Further Leave of Absence from Parliament granted Him—Meets with a Failure in his Attack on Farringdon House—His Successes in the Isle of Ely, St. Ives, and Gainsborough—The Battle of Naseby—Cromwell's Letter to the Speaker—Joyful Reception of the News in London—Further Victories over the Royalists in the West—Cromwell's successful Management of the Clubmen—Siege of Bristol and Rupert's Discomfiture—Intelligence received of the King's Attack and Plunder of Huntingdon—Letter of Cromwell to the Speaker, giving an Account of the Success at Bristol—Deplorable State of the City when Evacuated by Rupert and the Royalist Forces—Anger of the King towards his Nephew Prince Rupert—Termination of the First Civil War—Cromwell appears in Force before Winchester—His Description of the Siege of the Castle in a Letter to General Sir Thomas Fairfax—Striking Trait of Cromwell's Rigour in punishing Plunderers—Hugh Peters, who was present at the Siege, called upon to give an Account to the House of Commons—Sack of Basing House—A Day of Thanksgiving ordered for the late Victories—Termination of further Resistance by the Royalists.

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THE so-called Treaty of Uxbridge having proved abortive, each side prepared to renew the struggle, and the campaign of 1645—the most disastrous to Charles of all his campaigns—opened towards the end of April. The King was desirous of leaving Oxford, in order to join Prince Rupert, who lay at Worcester with a large body of horse; accordingly the Prince detached 2,000 troops to support the King's infantry,

and artillery on its march. This coming to the knowledge of the Parliamentary committee of both kingdoms sitting in London, from whom the army received their orders, they directed Sir Thomas Fairfax, whose head quarters remained still at Windsor, to intercept and prevent the junction of the King's forces. 'The charge of this service,' they write, 'we recommend particularly to General Cromwell.' It so happened that Cromwell had arrived at Windsor the evening previous to the receipt of this despatch, in order to take leave of the commander-in-chief, he having now no longer military duties to perform by reason of the Self-denying Ordinance. But the recommendation of the London committee, together with the fact that the ordinance itself was not to be in force until May 17 ensuing, decided him to accept with alacrity the new appointment. With his usual promptness Oliver collected together the troops appointed for the service, including the unconquerable 'Ironsides' which now formed part of the model army under Fairfax, and marched into Oxfordshire in quest of the enemy. Of this expedition let us hear his own statement, conveyed to the committee of both kingdoms, in a letter written from Bletchington, and dated April 25:—

'According to your lordships' appointment, I have attended your service in these parts, and have not had so fit an opportunity to give you an account as now. So soon as I received your commands, I appointed a rendezvous at Wellington. The body being come up, I marched to Wheately Bridge, having sent before to Major-General Browne for

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intelligence, and it being market-day at Oxford, from whence I likewise hoped, by some of the market people, to gain notice where the enemy was.

'Towards night I received certain notice by Major-General Browne that the carriages were not stirred, that Prince Maurice was not there; and by some Oxford scholars, that there were four carriages and wagons ready in one place, and in another five: all, as I conceived, fit for a march. I received notice also that the Earl of Northampton's regiment was quartered at Islip, wherefore in the evening I marched that way, hoping to have surprised them; but by the mistake and failing of the forlorn hope, they had an alarm there, and to all their quarters, and so escaped me; by means whereof they had time to draw all together.

'I kept my body all night at Islip, and in the morning a party of the Earl of Northampton's regiment, the Lord Wilmot's, and the Queen's, came to make an infall upon me. Sir Thomas Fairfax's regiment (the Ironsides) was the first that took the field; the rest drew out with all possible speed. That which is the general's troop charged a whole squadron of the enemy, and presently broke it. Our other troops coming seasonably on, the rest of the enemy were presently put into confusion, so that we had the chase of them three or four miles; wherein we killed many, and took near two hundred prisoners, and about four hundred horse.

'Many of them escaped towards Oxford and Woodstock, divers were drowned, and others got into a strong house in Bletchington, belonging to Sir Thomas Cogan, wherein Colonel Windebank kept a

garrison with near two hundred men, whom I presently summoned; and after a long treaty he went out about twelve at night, with these terms here enclosed, leaving us between two and three hundred muskets, besides horse-arms and other ammunition, and about three score and eleven horses more.

'This was the mercy of God, and nothing is more due than a real acknowledgment. And though I have had great mercies, yet none clearer; because, in the first, God brought them to our hands when we laid a reasonable design to surprise them, and which we carefully endeavoured. His mercy appears in this also, that I did much doubt the storming of the house, it being strong and well manned, and I having few dragoons; and this being not my business; and yet we got it.

'I hope you will pardon me if I say God is not enough owned. We look too much to men, and visible helps; this hath much hindered our success. But I hope God will direct all to acknowledge Him alone in all.'

Two things are noticeable in this remarkable letter: the humble recognition of the God of Battles, who alone giveth victory, and the absence of all self-laudation. That which he mentions as the general's troop was no other than the invincible Ironsides he had so often led to victory—the men whom he had raised, instructed and prayed with, nay frequently preached to.

The surrender of Bletchington House proved a disastrous affair to the unfortunate Windebank, whose beautiful young bride was soon to become a widow for her share in the transaction, as it was

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in consequence of her entreaties that her husband was prevailed upon to surrender what he might so easily have held; for he was, by the command of his royal master, tried, condemned, and 'shot to death.'

These reverses did not prevent the King taking the field on May 7, on which day he left Oxford and marched with his forces in the direction of Chester, that city being besieged by the Parliamentary forces under Sir William Brereton. When within twenty miles of the city, Brereton, hearing of the King's approach, raised the siege and retired into Lancashire. This movement left his Majesty free to commence operations in another direction, of which he was not slow to avail himself, for he suddenly appeared before Leicester, and carried the town by storm on April 30, thus having the whole eastern associated counties open before him, and without an army to oppose his march into that district.

Meanwhile the Parliamentary army had been directed to lay siege to Oxford during the King's absence; but on the news reaching London of his Majesty's success at Leicester, the general had orders to march as quickly as possible into the associated district.

The absurdity of a committee sitting in London attempting successfully to guide an army at a distance, and in the presence, or within a few miles, of an active enemy, was never more conspicuous than during this period. The month of May was thus consumed by the Parliamentary forces; marching and counter-marching in obedience to the will of the committee of both kingdoms. Taunton, beseiged by the King's forces under

Sir Richard Grenville, requiring aid, Fairfax, according to his instructions, proceeded with his army towards Somersetshire. Arrived at Salisbury, he was suddenly recalled to defend the midland and eastern counties, now threatened by the King. Scarcely had this movement commenced when another despatch pressed him to go hastily towards Oxford, now left exposed by the King's absence. Before there had been time sufficient to carry out these last instructions, the King had gained possession of Leicester, and Fairfax was required to march in pursuit of the Royalists, now threatening the Fen district. It was, therefore, with no small amount of dismay that the general and his officers contemplated the approaching loss of Cromwell's vigorous and able presence amongst them at the termination of his leave of absence from the Parliament. They accordingly sent an urgent petition, praying that Cromwell's services might be prolonged, and rewarded by his being appointed Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Horse: a request which, after much opposition, principally from the Earl of Essex, was acceded to, and a further leave of absence of forty days granted, subsequently extended to three months; and ultimately, as will be seen, to an indefinite period.

During these busy weeks he appears to have met with one failure, towards the end of April, at Farringdon House. The governor of that place, on being summoned to surrender, refused; Cromwell therefore assaulted the mansion, but was unsuccessful, and had to withdraw his troops with a loss of fifty men and one officer, who was taken prisoner. But when he

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was informed of the threatened invasion of the eastern associated district, his soul was on fire, and all the energy and impulsiveness of his character was roused in defence of his beloved counties.

Leaving Fairfax, who followed with the main body of the army, Cromwell's first efforts were directed to secure that part of the Isle of Ely most in danger.

'Truly I found it,' he writes to Sir Thomas Fairfax from Huntingdon on June 4, 'in a very ill posture; and it is yet but weak, without works, ammunition or men considerable, and of money least.' . . . yet God has preserved us all this while to a miracle.' Two days later he wrote from Cambridge an urgent letter to the deputy-lieutenants of Suffolk to hasten all the horse and foot soldiers they could gather, as follows:—

'The cloud of the enemy's army hanging still upon the borders, and drawing towards Harborough, make some suppose that they aim at the association. In regard whereof we having information that the army about Oxford was not yesterday advanced, albeit it was ordered so to do, we thought meet to give you intelligence thereof, and therewith earnestly to propound to your consideration that you will have in readiness what horse and foot may be had, that so a proportion may be drawn forth for this service such as may be expedient. And because we conceive that the exigence may require horse and dragoons, we desire that all your horse and dragoons may hasten to Newmarket, where they will receive orders for further advance, according as the motion of the enemy and of our army shall require, and to allow both

the several troops of dragoons and horse one week's pay, to be laid down by the owner, which shall be repaid out of the public money of the county; the pay of each trooper being 14*s.* per week, and of a dragoon 10*s.* 6*d.* per week.

'P.S. The place of rendezvous for the horse and dragoons to be at Newmarket, and for the foot Bury. Since the writing hereof we received certain intelligence that the enemy's body, with sixty carriages, was upon his march towards the association, three miles on this side Harborough, last night at four of the clock.'

He is next heard of at St. Ive's, summoning the inhabitants of that town and the surrounding neighbourhood to meet him, in order to devise means for preventing the King's forces from invading the association.

Fairfax meanwhile was hastening from Oxford with the Parliamentary army. On June 11 they marched from Stony Stratford to Wootton, near Northampton: the day following they reached Borough Hill, within five miles of where the King's army lay encamped.

At six o'clock the next morning a council of war was held. During the debate, Cromwell, with 600 horse and dragoons, arrived from the eastern associated counties. Their appearance caused great joy, and the army welcomed them with shouts of acclamation.

The deliberations of the council resulted in Harrison being dispatched with a detachment of troops in the direction of Daventry, whilst Ireton and a body of horse followed the King. The main army, with the two generals, Fairfax and Cromwell, by a flank movement,

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followed in the same direction, reaching Gainsborough in the evening, where they remained for the night.

Ireton, with his troop of flying horse, overtook the rear-guard of the Royalist army between nine and ten o'clock at night, and after a brisk encounter succeeded in capturing several prisoners, and carrying them off to Naseby. The King, who led the rear guard, had retired to bed at a house in a neighbouring village, but was roused by the sudden arrival of some of the routed troops. He rose immediately, and proceeded to consult with Prince Rupert, who led the van, whom he found in bed at Market Harborough. Not a little surprised at a visit from his royal uncle at that late hour, he dressed himself as quickly as possible, and descended into the sitting-room, where he found the King in a state of great irritation, sitting in a chair in a low room. A council of war was forthwith held, when it was debated whether it were better to carry out the original intention of going on direct to the relief of Pomfret, or before doing so give battle to the Roundheads. The older officers present were in favour of the former. Prince Rupert, on the contrary, was eager for the fight; and the King's inclinations being in the same direction, it was decided that the Royalist forces should turn back and fight.

Such were the antecedent circumstances which led to the celebrated battle of Naseby—the most decisive and disastrous to the King of all his military engagements.

The village of Naseby is situated on the borders of Leicestershire and Northamptonshire, midway between Daventry and Market Harborough, some seven or eight miles from either place.

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The battle was fought in a large fallow-field, about a mile and a half to the north-west of Naseby. The whole country was at that time unenclosed, with but little or no timber, and so it continued down to a comparatively recent period. The Parliamentary forces left Gainsborough at three o'clock on the morning of Saturday, June 14, and reached Naseby two hours later. They found the Royalist forces drawn up in order of battle, about a mile to the south of Harborough. In point of numbers there was little or no difference between the two armies. The King's main body of foot was led by Astley, lately made a baron; the right wing of horse by Prince Rupert, and the left by Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The reserve, composed of the King's Life Guards of horse and foot, was commanded by the Earl of Lindsey and Lord Stuart, the latter had recently been created Earl of Lichfield. The main body of the Parliamentary army was commanded by Fairfax and Skippon. Cromwell led the right wing, and Ireton the left; whilst the reserve was under Hammond, Rainsborough, and Pride. 'Our word,' says one in the Parliamentary ranks, who wrote a description of the battle the day following, 'was "God our strength;" theirs "Queen Mary." After we had recommended ourselves to the Almighty's protection, our warning piece was shot off as a signal.'

The battle began at ten o'clock, by Prince Rupert charging up the hill on which Ireton's left wing was stationed. 'He charged them,' says an eye-witness, 'with such fury and gallantry as few in the army ever saw the like, and beat them down the hill to the train where Colonel Bartlet's regiment and the fire-

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locks that guarded the train were stationed; beat them from it, and won the ground our horse had lost.'

In this encounter Ireton was wounded and taken prisoner. Rupert chased the flying troops nearly to Naseby, thus repeating the fault he committed at Marston Moor, where his long absence from the field of battle proved so disastrous to the Royalist forces. It was on their return that the baggage-train encounter took place, which Rushworth, who was secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, and present on the scene described. 'A party of theirs,' he says, 'that broke through the left wing of horse, came quite behind the rear of our train; the leader of them being a person somewhat in habit like the general, in a red montero, as the general had. He came as a friend; our commander of the guard of the train went with his hat in his hand, and asked him how the day went? The cavalier, who we since heard was Rupert, asked him and the rest if they would have quarter? They cried "No!" gave fire, and instantly beat them off. It was a happy deliverance.' Whilst the right wing of the Royalist horse under Rupert were engaged as we have seen, their left wing under Langdale fared far otherwise; for Cromwell, who commanded the right of the Parliament horse, rushed with his accustomed impetuosity down the hill, sweeping everything before him, thus separating Langdale's troops from the main body, until at length they broke and fled. Cromwell then dispatched four troops after them, and with the rest of the division returned to the field. In the meanwhile the King, seeing the enemy's centre left unsupported by their horse, furiously attacked Fairfax,

who was forced to give ground, all excepting his own regiment retreating in disorder. At this critical moment Cromwell, returning with his victorious horse, encountered the rear of the King's centre, and at the same moment Skippon brought up the Parliamentary reserve in their front, so that the battle, which hitherto had gone in favour of the Royalists, now presented a different aspect. Seeing this, the Royalist reserves were brought to the front, led by the King in person. His Majesty was just on the point of charging when, according to Clarendon, the Earl Carnwarth, who rode next his Majesty, on a sudden laid hold of the bridle of the King's horse, and said to him, 'Will you go upon your death in an instant?' and before his Majesty understood what he would have, turned his horse round; upon which a word ran through the troops that they should march to the right, which was both from charging the enemy or assisting their own men; and upon this they all turned their horses and rode upon the spur as if they were every man to shift for himself.' Thus unsupported by their reserve, the King's forces were easily overcome by Fairfax and Cromwell. One more chance remained for the Royalists; for at this instant Rupert, with his troops laden with plunder, returned to the field, and his scattered cavalry hastily reformed. 'One charge more, and we recover the day,' shouted the King; but, unlike Oliver's Ironsides, the King's cavalry could never be brought to make a second charge on the same day, and all the efforts of the commanders were unable to prevent them from wheeling round and leaving the field in disorder. Meanwhile Cromwell flew

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like lightning from one division of the army to the other: nothing could arrest his impetuous onslaught. He broke the King's squadrons one after the other, with the greatest ease and rapidity. One division, however, could not be shaken until attacked simultaneously in the front and rear by Cromwell and Skippon, who met each other in the centre, and the last of the Royalist foot were put to confusion. Then ensued one of the most desperate and deadly pursuits ever recorded: the Royalists fled, followed by Cromwell and his troops, who did frightful execution among them, to within a short distance of the town of Leicester.

In this engagement the Royalists lost all their artillery, baggage, the King's private cabinet, and 8,000 stand of arms. 150 officers and gentlemen were left dead upon the field; a great number of men and officers were also taken prisoners. Ireton, who had been wounded and taken prisoner early in the engagement, contrived to make his escape in the confusion at the close of the battle. Major-General Skippon, wounded in the attack on the King's centre, was seen riding furiously from point to point encouraging his men; when Fairfax, seeing his exhausted condition, requested him to go off the field, but he declined, saying he 'should not stir so long as a man could stand.'

The evening of the battle Cromwell wrote to the Speaker as follows:—

'Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us.

'We marched yesterday after the King, who went before us from Daventry to Harborough, and quar-

tered about six miles from him. He drew out to meet us; both armies engaged. We, after three hours' fight, very doubtful, at last routed his army; killed and took about 5,000, very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not. We took also about 200 carriages, all he had; and all his guns, being twelve in number, whereof two were demi-cannon, two demi-culverins, and I think the rest sackers. We pursued the enemy from three miles short of Harborough to nine beyond, even to the sight of Leicester, whither the King fled.

'Sir, this is none other but the hand of God; and to Him alone belongs the glory, wherein none are to share with Him. The general served you with all faithfulness and honour, and the best commendation I can give him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God, and would rather perish than assume to himself; and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action as to any man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir, they are trusty; I beseech you, in the name of God, not to discourage them. I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for. And in this he rests who is

'Your most humble servant,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'

To understand the meaning of Cromwell's concluding remarks, it is necessary to bear in mind that there were in the Parliamentry army many officers and

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soldiers, who with himself, could not be prevailed upon to take the solemn league and covenant, and towards whom as a matter of course he felt much sympathy.

The news of the victory reached London the next day. On the Monday following the Parliament ordered the bearer who brought the first intelligence from the general to be paid 40*l*., and the messenger from the lieutenant-general 20*l*. An ordinance also passed to the effect that 'Lieutenant-General Cromwell continue with the army three months after the fifty days assigned are expired.'

Fairfax, equally with Cromwell, hesitated not publicly to recognise and acknowledge his thanksgiving for the victory, and from whence it came. 'All that I desire,' wrote Fairfax to the House, 'is that the honour of this never-to-be-forgotten mercy may be given to God in an extraordinary day of thanksgiving —a request that met with instant compliance by that Puritan assembly, for a resolution passed later in the debate which followed, 'that Thursday next be appointed a day of thanksgiving.'

Fairfax, with the main body of the army, followed the King's troops to within four miles of Leicester; but the Royalists pushed on beyond, leaving Lord Hastings and some troops behind to defend the town: which, however, was attacked on the Monday and surrendered on the following Wednesday.

'You have heard of Naseby,' wrote Cromwell to a friend, a few days later. It was a happy victory. . . . . God was pleased to use his servants; and if men will be malicious, and swell with envy, we know who hath said, If they will not see, yet they shall see,

and be ashamed for their envy at His people. I can say this of Naseby; that when I saw the enemy draw up and march in gallant order towards us, and we a company of poor ignorant men, to seek how to order our battle, the general having commanded me to order all the horse, I could not, riding alone about my business, but cry out to God in praises, in assurance of victory, because God would, by things that are not, to bring to naught things that are; of which I had great assurance—and God did it! Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord, and declare His wonders that He doth for the children of men.'

After this victory the Parliamentary army lost no time in hastening to the south-west of England—the only district in which Charles now possessed any power and influence. In July Cromwell had reached the neighbourhood of Bridgewater; and at Langport, a few miles distant, he found a body of Royalist troops joined by a number of agricultural labourers armed with clubs, posted in a strong position. The following is Cromwell's account, written to a friend, of what ensued:—

'We were advanced to Long Sutton, near a very strong place of the enemy's called Langport; far from our garrisons, without ammunition, in a place extremely wanting in provisions, the malignant clubmen interposing, who are ready to take all advantages against our parties, and would undoubtedly take them against our army if they had opportunity. Goring stood upon the advantage of strong passes, staying until Grenville and Prince Charles with his men were come up to him. We could not well have necessitated

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him to an engagement, nor have stayed one day longer without retreating to our ammunition and to conveniency of victual.

'In the morning word was brought us that the enemy drew out. He did so with a resolution to send most of his cannon and baggage to Bridgewater, which he effected, but with a resolution not to fight, but trusting to his ground, thinking he could make away at pleasure.

'The pass was straight between him and us. He brought two cannon to secure, and laid his musketeers strongly in the hedges. We beat off his cannon, fell down upon his musketeers, beat them off from their strength; and where our horse could scarcely pass two abreast, I commanded Major Bethel to charge them with two troops of about one hundred and twenty horse, which he performed with the greatest gallantry imaginable, beat back two bodies of the enemy's horse, being Goring's own brigade—brake them at sword's point. The enemy charged them with near four hundred fresh horse, set them all going, until, oppressed with multitudes, he brake through them, with the loss of not above three or four men. Major Desborourgh seconded him with some other of those troops which where about there. Bethel faced about, and they both routed, at sword's point, a great body of the enemy's horse, which gave such an unexpected terror to the enemy's army, that it set them all a-running. Our foot in the meantime coming on bravely, and beating the enemy from their strength, we presently had the chase to Langport and Bridgewater.

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'We took and killed about 2,000—brake all his foot. We have taken very many horses and considerable prisoners. What are slain we know not. We have the Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, Colonel Preston, Colonel Heveningham, Colonel Slingsby, we know of, besides very many other officers of quality. All Major-General Massey's party was with him, seven or eight miles from us, and about 1,200 of our foot and three regiments of our horse, so that we had but seven regiments with us.'

Victory upon victory, in quick succession, now rewarded the Parliamentary forces. On July 23 Bridgewater was successfully stormed; a week later Bath yielded; and on August 4 the Clubmen were encountered by Cromwell, who relates as follows his adventures, in a letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was at that time at Sherborne:—

'I marched this morning towards Shaftesbury. In my way I found a party of Clubmen gathered together about two miles on this side of the town towards you, and one Mr. Newman at the head of them. . . . I sent to them to know the cause of their meeting. Mr. Newman came to me and told me that the Clubmen in Dorset and Wilts, to the number of 10,000, were to meet about their men who were taken away at Shaftesbury, and that their intention was to secure themselves from being plundered. To the first I told them, that although no account was due to them, yet I knew the men were taken by your authority to be tried judicially for raising a third party in the kingdom; and if they should be found guilty, they must suffer according to the nature of their

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offence; if innocent, I assured them you would acquit them. Upon this they said, "If they have deserved punishment they would not have anything to do with them," and so were quieted as to that point. For the other, I assured them that it was your great care not to suffer them in the least to be plundered, and that they should defend themselves from violence, and bring to your army such as did them any wrong, where they would be punished with all severity: upon this, very quietly and peaceably, they marched away to their houses, being very well satisfied and contented.

'We marched on to Shaftesbury, where we heard a great body of them was drawn together about Hambledon Hill, where indeed near 2,000 were gathered. I sent a forlorn hope of about fifty horse, who, coming very civilly to them, they fired upon them; and ours desiring some of them to come to me, were refused with disdain. They were drawn into one of the old camps upon a very high hill. I sent one Mr. Lee to them to certify the peaceableness of my intentions, and to desire them to peaceableness, and to submit to the Parliament. They refused, and fired at us. I sent him a second time, to let them know that if they would lay down their arms no wrong should be done to them. They still refused: I commanded your Captain-Lieutenant to draw up to them to be in readiness to charge; and, if upon his falling on, they would lay down arms, to accept them and spare them. When we came near, they refused his offer and let fly at him, killed about two of his men and at least four horses. The passage

not being [wide enough] for above three abreast, kept us out, whereupon Major Desborough wheeled about, got in at the rear of them, beat them from the work, and did some small execution upon them; I believe killed not twelve of them, but cut very many. We have taken about 300, many being poor silly creatures, whom if you please to let me send home, they promise to be very dutiful for time to come, and will be hanged before they come out again.

'The ringleaders we have I intend to bring to you. They had taken divers of the Parliament soldiers prisoners, besides Colonel Finnes and his men, and used them very barbarously, bragging "they hoped to see my Lord Hopton, and that he is to command them." They expected from Wilts great store, and gave out they meant to raise the siege at Sherborne when they were all met. We have gotten great store of their arms, and they carried few or none home. We quarter about ten miles off, and purpose to draw our quarters near to you to-morrow.'

But the event most important next after the battle of Naseby was the taking of Bristol, whither Prince Rupert, and such of the troops as he could bring with him, had retreated. It was during the siege that intelligence reached Cromwell of the King's attack upon Huntingdon. Cromwell was too far away to render any assistance, and it must have been a severe disappointment to be thus deprived of rendering succour to the inhabitants of his native town. A curious letter has been preserved, in which is narrated what took place on this occasion. The King entered Huntingdon on August 27, and was accompanied by a

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body of flying troops from the counties of Northampton, Warwick, Stafford, and Salop, to the number of one thousand. 'His Majesty,' says this unknown correspondent, 'entered the town on the sabbath-day, about five of the clock in the afternoon, and with much complimental bowing saluted his good friends the Royalists as he rode through the streets.'

The object of this royal visit was, however, soon made evident, being no other than that of plundering the inhabitants of all the money the King could get out of them. The mayor of Huntingdon and the two bailiffs of Godmanchester, a neighbouring hamlet, were commanded to 'tax the said town at five shillings, ten shillings, and fifteen shillings a man "meane men," and others at a far higher rate,' which these worthies did right willingly, being Royalists, and presented the amount 'in a lump' to his Majesty. For this service the mayor, with upwards of forty of the principal inhabitants, mostly Royalists, were rewarded by being carried off as prisoners along with the flying army, and a ransom from 20*l.* to 300*l.* a-piece set on their heads.

The King, on his entry into the town, proclaimed 'no plunder' on pain of death; but the soldiers 'fell to plundering many houses, and in every house where from twenty to thirty were billeted the owner was compelled to furnish horse-provender, man's meat, and twelve pence a day to each soldier.'

Bristol was successfully stormed on September 10. So confident were the Royalists of their ability to hold this important position, that Rupert sent word to the

King he could hold out successfully for a period of four months; and yet, contrary to all expectation, the prince surrendered the city upon the first summons from General Fairfax. Cromwell wrote a long account of this success to the Speaker four days after, namely on September 14, wherein he says:

'Upon our advance the enemy fired Bedminster, Clifton, and some other villages lying near the city, and would have fired more if our unexpected coming had not hindered. . . . . The day and hour of our storm was appointed to be on Wednesday morning, September 10, about one of the clock. We chose to act it so early, because we hoped thereby to surprise the enemy. With this resolution also, to avoid confusion and falling foul upon one another. . . . . The general's signal unto a storm was to be the firing of straw and discharging four pieces of cannon at Pryor's Hill Fort. The signal was very well perceived of all; and truly the men went on with great resolution, and very presently recovered the Line, making way for the horse to enter. Colonel Montague and Colonel Pickering presently entered, and with great resolution beat the enemy from their works, and possessed their cannon. They laid down the bridges for the horse to enter, Major Desborough commanding the horse, who very gallantly seconded the foot. Then our foot advanced to the city walls, where they possessed the gate against the Castle Street, whereinto were put a hundred men, w o made it good. Sir Hardress Waller, with his own and the general's regiment, with no less resolution entered on the other side of Lawford's Gate towards Avon

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river, and put themselves into immediate conjunction with the rest of the brigade.

'During this Colonel Rainsborough and Colonel Hammond attempted Pryor's Hill Fort and the Line downwards towards Frome; and the major-general's regiment being to storm towards Frome river, Colonel Hammond possessed the Line immediately, and beating the enemy from it for the horse to enter. Colonel Rainsborough, who had the hardest task of all at Pryor's Hill Fort, attempted it, and fought near three hours at it. And indeed there was great despair of carrying the place, it being exceedingly high, a ladder of thirty rounds scarcely reaching the top thereof; but his resolution was such that, notwithstanding the inaccessibleness and difficulty, he would not give it over. The enemy had four pieces of cannon upon it, which they plied with round and case-shot upon our men. Lieutenant-Colonel Bowen and others were two hours at push of pike, standing upon the palisadoes, but could not enter. [Meanwhile] Colonel Hammond entered the Line, and by means of this entrance they did storm the fort on that part which was inward, [when] Colonel Rainsborough's and Colonel Hammond's men entered, and immediately put almost all the men in it to the sword.

'As this was the place of most difficulty so [was it] of most loss to us and of very great honour to the undertaker. The horse did second them with great resolution. . . . . Major Bethel's were the first horse that entered the Line, who did behave himself most gallantly, and was shot in the thigh and had his horse shot under him.

'By this, all the Line from Pryor's Hill Fort to Avon, which was a full mile, with all the forts, ordnance, and bulwarks, were possessed by us; save one, wherein were about 220 men of the enemy, which the general summoned, and all the men submitted.

'The success on Colonel Weldon's side did not answer with this: and although the colonels and other the officers and soldiers, both horse and foot, testified as much resolution as could be expected, yet what by reason of the height of the works, which proved higher than report made them, and the shortness of the ladders, they were repulsed with the loss of a hundred men.

'Being possessed of thus much as hath been related, the town was fired in three places by the enemy, which we could not put out, which begat a great trouble in the general and us all; fearing to see so famous a city burnt to ashes before our faces. Whilst we were viewing so sad a spectacle, and consulting which way to make further advantage of our success, the prince sent a trumpet to the general to desire a treaty for the surrender of the town; to which the general agreed, and deputed Colonel Montague, Colonel Rainsborough, and Colonel Pickering, for that service; authorising them with instructions to treat and conclude the articles, which are these enclosed.

'On Thursday about two of the clock in the afternoon the prince marched out, having a convoy of two regiments of horse from us, and making election of Oxford for the place he would go to, which he had liberty to do by his articles. The cannon which we have taken are about a hundred and forty mounted,

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about a hundred barrels of powder, with a good quantity of shot, ammunition, and arms. We have found already between two and three thousand muskets. The Royal Fort had victual in it for 150 men, for 320 days. The castle victualled for nearly half so long. The prince had in foot of the garrison, as the mayor of the city informed me, 2,500, and about 1,000 horse, besides the train-bands of the town, and auxiliaries 1,000, some say 1,500. . . . We had not killed of ours in the storm, nor in all the siege, 200 men.

'Thus have I given you a true but not a full account of this great business; wherein he that runs may read; that all this is none other than the work of God, he must be a very Atheist that doth not acknowledge it. It may be thought that some praises are due to those gallant men of whose valour so much mention is made; their humble suit to you is, that in the remembrance of God's praises they be forgotten. It's their joy that they are instruments of God's glory and their country's good. It's their honour that God vouchsafes to use them. Sir, they that have been employed in this service know that faith and prayer obtained this city for you. I do not say ours only, but of the people of God with you, and all England who have wrestled with God for a blessing in this very thing. Our desires are, that God may be glorified by the same spirit of faith by which we ask all our sufficiency and have received it. It is meet that He have all the praise. Presbyterians, Independents, all here have the same spirit of faith and prayer; the same presence and answer; they agree here, have no names of difference! pity it is it should be otherwise

anywhere. All that believe have the real unity which is most glorious, because inward and spiritual *in* the body and *to* the head. For, being united in forms commonly called uniformity, every Christian will for peace sake study and do as far as conscience will permit. And for brethren, in things of the mind we look for no compulsion, but that of light and reason. In other things God hath put the sword in the Parliament's hands for the terror of evil-doers and the praise of them that do well. If any plead exemption from that, he knows not the Gospel. If any would wring that out of your hands, or steal it from you under what pretence soever, I hope they shall do it without effect.' CHAP. IX. 1645

Bristol, on being taken possession of by the Parliamentary army, was found in a most deplorable condition; 'more resembling a prison than a city,' remarks one who saw it at the time. The people were poor in habit and dejected in countenance; the streets were filthy, and so were the houses; the taxation and pillage by the prince and his 5,000 troops had brought this state of things to pass during the period they had held possession.

Great was the indignation of the King when the news reached him of the surrender. He wrote a most stinging letter to the Prince from Hereford, as follows:—

'NEPHEW,—Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much affliction to me that it makes me not only forget the consideration of that place, but is likewise

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the greatest trial of my constancy that hath yet befallen me; for what is to be done after one that is so near me as you are, both in blood and friendship, submit himself to so mean an action? I give it the easiest term. I have so much to say that I will say no more about it, only lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge. I must remember you of your letter of August 12, whereby you assured me that, if no mutiny happened, you would keep Bristol for four months. Did you keep it four days? More questions might be asked, but now, I confess, to little purpose. My conclusion is, to desire you to seek your subsistence (until it shall please God to determine of my condition) somewhere beyond seas; to which end I send you herewith a pass, and pray God to make you sensible of your present condition, and give you means to redeem what you have lost, for I shall have no greater joy in a victory than a just occasion, without blushing, to assure you of my being

'Your loving Uncle and most faithful friend,

'C. R.'

Rupert proceeded to defend himself by publishing an account of the whole transaction. He also demanded a court-martial, which was accordingly held at Newark some weeks later, when he was acquitted.

The first civil war was now nearly at an end. Excepting the extreme south-west of the kingdom, the King had no forces in the field; but in many isolated castles and strongholds the bold barons and their retainers still offered resistance, which required all the vigour and enterprise of the Parliamentary generals

to subdue. On September 28 Cromwell, accompanied by some troops, appeared before Winchester.

'I came to Winchester on the Lord's day,' he writes to Sir Thomas Fairfax, 'with Colonel Pickering commanding his own, Colonel Montague's, and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments. After some dispute with the governor, we entered the town. I summoned the castle; was denied; whereupon we fell to prepare batteries, which we could not perfect until Friday following. Our battery was six guns, which being finished, after firing one round, I sent in a second summons for a treaty, which they refused: whereupon we went on with our work, and made a breach in the wall near the Black Tower; which after about 200 shot we thought practicable, and purposed on Monday morning to attempt it. On Sunday night, about ten of the clock, the governor beat a parley, desiring to treat. I agreed unto it, and sent Colonel Hammond and Major Harrison in to him, who agreed upon these enclosed articles.

'Sir, this is the addition of another mercy. You see God is not weary in doing you good. I confess, Sir, His favour to you is as visible when He comes by His power upon the hearts of your enemies, making them quit places of strength to you, as when He gives courage to your soldiers to attempt hard things. His goodness in this is much to be acknowledged, for the castle was well manned with 680 horse and foot, there being near 200 gentlemen, officers, and their servants; well victualled with fifteen hundredweight of cheese, very great store of wheat and beer, near twenty barrels of powder, and seven pieces of cannon. The

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works were exceedingly good and strong. It's very likely it would have cost much blood to have gained it by storm. We have not lost twelve men. This is repeated to you that God may have all the praise, for it's all His due.'

There is mentioned a striking trait of Cromwell's vigour in punishing plunderers on this occasion. Some townsmen having complained of being plundered contrary to the articles of capitulation, he caused the soldiers suspected to be arrested and tried by court-martial, when all were found guilty and sentenced to be hanged. Instead, however, of carrying out the sentence, he marched them under guard to the head-quarters of the enemy at Oxford, to be there disposed of. This act was politely acknowledged by the governor of Oxford, who straitway remitted them back to Cromwell, with thankful acknowledgments for this proof of his determination to discourage oppression or plunder towards the weak and defenceless, whether friend or foe.

Hugh Peters, who was present at the siege in the two-fold capacity of chaplain and secretary, was the bearer of a letter from Cromwell to the Parliament, and when called upon by the House, gave a verbal account of the matter, wherein he says:—'When I look upon the two chiefs of our army (Fairfax and Cromwell) I remember Gustave Adolphus and Oxenstein, and I wish that our hopes in these may not be so short-lived as the German hopes in them were. The Lord's day,' he continued, 'we spent in praying whilst our gunners were battering. . . . . The Bishop of Winchester desired of me a guard to his lodging,

lest the soldiers should use violence to him and his chaplain; and he was accordingly safely convoyed to his home.'

For this good news the Commons voted the sum of 50*l.* to the bearer, Hugh Peters.

A week later the conquest of another and more important place than that of Winchester Castle occurred, namely, Basing House. This stronghold had caused great annoyance to the citizens of London by the garrison preventing the transmission of their merchandise between the coast and the metropolis. Those picturesque ruins the traveller sees from the windows of the railway carriage when nearing Basingstoke bear unmistakable evidence of the rough usage received from Cromwell on October 14, 1645. Oliver's report was sent the same day to the Speaker, as follows:—

'I thank God! I can give you a good account of Basing. After our batteries were placed, we settled the several posts for the storm. Colonel Dalbier was to be on the north side of the house, next the Grange; Colonel Pickering on his left hand; and Sir Hardress Waller's and Colonel Montague's regiments next him. We stormed this morning after six of the clock; the signal for falling on was the firing four of our cannon, which being done, our men fell on with great resolution and cheerfulness. We took the two houses without any considerable loss to ourselves. Colonel Pickering stormed the new house, passed through and got the new gate of the old house, whereupon they summoned a parley, which our men would not hear.

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'In the meantime Colonel Montague's and Sir Hardress Waller's regiments assaulted the strong work, where the enemy kept his court of guard, which with great resolution they recovered, beating the enemy from a whole culverin, and from that work; which having done, they drew their ladders after them, and got over another work and the house wall before they could enter. In this Sir Hardress Waller, performing his duty with honour and diligence, was shot in the arm, but not dangerously.

'We have had little loss. Many of the enemy our men put to the sword, and some officers of quality; most of the rest we have prisoners, amongst whom the Marquis of Winchester himself, and Sir Robert Peake, with divers other officers, whom I have ordered to be sent up to you. We have taken about ten pieces of ordnance, with much ammunition, and our soldiers a good encouragement.

'I humbly offer to you to have this place utterly slighted [i.e. dismantled] for these following reasons. It will ask [require] about 800 men to manage it; it is no frontier; the country is poor about it; the place exceedingly ruined by our batteries and mortar-pieces, and by a fire which fell upon the place since our taking it. If you please to take the garrison at Farnham, some out of Chichester, and a good part of the foot which were here under Dalbier, and to make a strong quarter at Newbury with three or four troops of horse, I dare be confident it would not only be a curb to Donnington, but a security and a frontier to all these parts; inasmuch as Newbury lies upon the river, and will prevent any incursion

from Donnington, Wallingford, or Farringdon, into these parts; and by lying there will make the trade most secure between Bristol and London for all carriages. And I believe the gentlemen of Sussex and Hampshire will, with more cheerfulness, contribute to maintain a garrison on the frontier than in the bowels, which will have less safety in it. . . .

'The Lord grant that these mercies may be acknowledged with all thankfulness. God exceedingly abounds in His goodness to us, and will not be weary until righteousness and peace meet, and until He hath brought forth a glorious work for the happiness of this poor kingdom.'

Colonel Hammond brought this letter to the Parliament, and was rewarded, as was customary in those days, by the handsome donation of 200*l.* Hugh Peters also accompanied him, and, at the request of the Speaker, related all he knew of the siege. 'The house,' he says, 'was provisioned to last for years rather than for months. 400 quarters of wheat in the cellars, and the dining-room full of bacon, to say nothing of the cheese, oatmeal, beef, pork, beer, &c.'

The furniture in one of the bed-rooms was estimated to have cost 1,300*l.* 'In truth,' said he, 'the house stood in its full pride, and the enemy was fully persuaded that it would be the last piece of ground that would be taken by the Parliament, because they had so often foiled our forces which had formerly appeared before it. . . .

'There were slain seventy-four persons in the several rooms of the house, and only one woman, who

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by her railing provoked our soldiers, then in heat, into a further passion. The soldiers were permitted to sell the wheat to the country-people, who fetched it away in carts and hand-barrows. The furniture in like manner was disposed of piece-meal; stools, chairs, tables, all found willing purchasers; not an iron bar or bit of lead was left in all the windows; by the following Thursday morning not a gutter remained about the premises, for what the soldiers left the fire devoured, so that nothing but bare walls was to be seen twenty hours after the capture.'

Cromwell's letter was ordered by the Commons to be read on the Sunday following from every pulpit in the land, and a day of thanksgiving appointed by the Parliament.

Meanwhile Fairfax with the army marched towards the west of England, the only point where open resistance may be said to have assumed any pretensions to that of an organized force. Nor was Cromwell slow in his movements towards a similar point of the compass. Three days after the storming of Basing House he appeared before Langford House, in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. 'I sent the governor a summons,' [he is writing to the Speaker] 'who desired I should send two officers to treat with him, and I accordingly appointed Lieutenant-Colonel Hewson and Major Kelley thereunto. The treaty produced the agreement which I have enclosed to you.'

Cromwell's name now struck a panic into the hearts of all who offered to oppose the Parliamentary forces. Wherever he appeared resistance seemed useless, and the terror he inspired far exceeded all that his military

skill, could accomplish. The Parliament meanwhile, in recognition of his services, voted him the thanks of the two Houses, a barony, and an estate worth 2,500*l.* a year.

The conclusion of the campaign in the west was disastrous to the Royalists. Their army, which the young Prince Charles had got together and reformed, was forced to retreat into Cornwall, where it was broken and scattered by the victorious Parliamentary generals. Prince Charles fled to the Scilly Islands, leaving General Hopton to make the best terms he could for the remainder of the Royalists forces, who were obliged to capitulate in the March following.

Exeter surrendered on April 9, and a fortnight later King Charles withdrew in disguise from his English adherents; and, after encountering many dangers and difficulties, succeeded in reaching the Scottish army under Montrose.

CHAPTER X.

England at the Close of the first Civil War—Policy of the Royalists—The King decides on trusting Himself with the Scots—His Reasons for taking this Step explained to the Parliament—His Majesty's Reception—Alarm in London on receipt of this Intelligence—The King accompanies the Scottish Army to Newcastle—Cromwell returns to London—Marriage of his Daughter Bridget to Ireton—Cromwell resides in Drury Lane—His Letter to Mrs. Claypole—Proposals for Peace rejected by the King—Negotiations between the Scots and the Parliament for the Surrender of the King concluded—Popular Outcry for the Disbandment of the Army—Their Complaints of Arrears and other Grievances neglected—First Instalment paid to the Scots' Army—A Significant Coincidence of Dates—Religious Restraint put upon the King whilst with the Scots—Surrender of His Majesty to the Parliamentary Commissioners, and Journey to Holmby House—Review of the Political Chess-board at this Period—Parliamentary Neglect in providing for the Requirements of the Army a principal Cause of Hostility shown to Presbyterianism by the latter—The Policy of the King in seeking to bring into collision the two Parties—Relative Position of the English Presbyterians and the Army—Members of Parliament required to conform to the Solemn League and Covenant—Episcopalian Clergymen excluded from their Pulpits—Destruction of Ecclesiastical Property—Archbishop Usher allowed a Small Pension—Neglect of Religion, and Coercive Measures enforced by Parliament for its better Observance—The Code of Faith, called the Westminster Confession, presented to Parliament and adopted—Opposition in several Places to the Suppression of old Observances—The Coercive Policy a Mistake—Difficulties in the way of judging a past Age by the Light of a subsequent one.

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BEFORE proceeding with this narrative, let us pause for a few moments to survey the position of England at this eventful period of the seventeenth century. Charles the First had been conquered by his own subjects, in a contest which had lasted four years. The first civil war was now over. That great political and military struggle had for the time being come to an end from the sheer inability in one of the belli-

gerents to prolong it, and pastoral England bore the destructive evidences thereof stamped in indelible characters upon all her borders. Scarcely could a family be found throughout the length and breadth of the land who had not to mourn the absence of one or more from the old friendly circle; few indeed whom death or antagonism had not widely, if not irrevocably separated. A collapse of no ordinary character had overtaken society in all its ramifications, social, political, and religious, which years alone could modify or ameliorate. The demon of party strife had triumphed. The tenderest ties had been suddenly and violently snapped asunder, and there was left in its stead the burning thirst for revenge in the breast of the oppressed and the oppressor, the conquered and the conqueror alike. The peaceful avocations of every-day life had long been suspended by an entire population, which had embraced one side or other in the great struggle. The agricultural labourer had deserted the plough and become a soldier; the farmer or yeoman was now a member of some cavalry regiment; and the county squire a military officer. The land remained untilled, and the few looms the country could boast of no longer found willing and cunning hands to work them. Mill-streams had for the most part become stagnant pools, and commerce had flown to other and more congenial lands, where peace and order, instead of confusion and anarchy, governed the destinies of mankind.

The King's prospects had of late become exceeding gloomy. The spring of 1646 found the monarch in possession of but few towns or strongholds, and those,

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with one or two exceptions, of only secondary importance. The victorious Parliamentary generals had scattered and broken the Royalist troops on all sides, and their last stronghold of any importance was now being surrounded by the troops of Fairfax. Oxford, so long their head-quarters, offered no longer a tenable position. All hope of foreign aid, either in men, money, or materials, had long since disappeared. At best there was but a choice of evils which presented itself to the desponding Cavaliers. Could the King have escaped to the sea coast, and so to France, he might, by so doing, have saved his own life and with it possibly the monarchy; but such a step on his part would have been none other than a virtual abdication of the throne; and, desperate as were his Majesty's fortunes, this alternative had never for a moment been entertained.

It is very questionable if Charles at this present moment fully realised his position: otherwise there is no solution which at all accounts for the blind infatuation he displayed in his pertinacious refusal of all overtures of peace unless the divine right of kings to tax their subjects without their consent formed an important and recognised feature.

His one object, conspicuous throughout, had been to gain time by resorting to all sorts of delays, in the hope and anticipation that the Presbyterians and the Independents would in the end quarrel, and fight it out between themselves. In that event the two factions would probably be obliged to seek his aid as arbitrator, or the victor would fall an easy prey to the army of the Cavaliers.

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There were three courses which appeared to present themselves to the mind of the King in his present emergency. He had the choice of three powerful parties to select from to whom he could fly for refuge and protection. There was the governing body at Westminster, who had been his bitter enemies, the source of all his troubles, and the cause of all his failures; there was the English Parliamentary army under Fairfax, in whose ranks were to be found the men of all others he thought most to be avoided, and to whose influence he rightly ascribed the cause of most, if not all, the disasters he had met with in the field, namely the Independents; and lastly, there was the Scotch Presbyterian army in the north, under General Leven. The choice, in fact, lay between the former and the latter alternative; for towards his foes in arms, the Independents, whose power of late he had so severely felt, there was no sympathy or attraction. Nor is it difficult to understand the motives which ultimately guided his selection. To a mind strongly imbued with religous views, such as they were, and habitually trained to look upon the Church of England as a necessary and fundamental element in the constitution, he was at a loss to account for the sudden change which had come over the English nation on this important point; nor could he see or understand the causes which had assisted to bring about this (to him) unaccountable catastrophe. Presbyterianism among the Scots he could understand; nationally it was a legitimate sequence of their Reformation, as Episcopacy had been equally so with the English; but the exterminating hatred latterly exhibited

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against the Church of England, in consequence of extreme ritualism, which the Parliamentarians had recently so successfully displayed, presented to the mind of the King a grave cause for fear and mistrust. It is true he had latterly professed a great desire to go to London for the openly alleged purpose of discussing conditions of peace; but up to the last moment before setting out on his flight from Oxford, so much was it a matter of indecision whither he should direct his steps, that those around him, who were most intimate in his councils, were unable to discover to what conclusion he had arrived.

If any doubts existed as to the real object the King had in joining the Scottish army, he himself furnishes the solution in a private letter written from Oxford to the Marquis of Ormond in Ireland on April 27.

'Our intention is,' he writes to that nobleman, 'to put ourselves to the hazard of passing into the Scots' army now lying before Newark, in order to procure a happy and well-grounded peace with their assistance, and with the conjunction of the forces under the Marquis of Montrose, and such well-affected subjects of England *as shall rise for us.*' Yet a few days later, namely, on May 18, he wrote to the two Houses of Parliament, giving quite another reason for this step. 'Understanding,' he says in this letter, 'that it is not safe to come to London, and the [Parliamentary] army's march fast on Oxford, he had come hither only to secure his own person, and with *no intention of continuing the war.*'

What clearer proof of the King's duplicity than is contained in this latter sentence can be furnished?

His Majesty goes on to say, that as religion is the 'first desire of himself and his subjects, he will take the advice of the divines assembled at Westminster.' As to the militia, he will 'agree to whatever was settled at the treaty of Uxbridge;' and, in the matter of Ireland, he will give 'full satisfaction, and do whatever is possible.' 'If these be not satisfactory,' he adds, 'he will comply with Parliament in everything.' He also consents to 'disband his forces at Oxford.'

This communication was followed three weeks later by another message, written from Newcastle, wherein he desires that he may have permission to come to London with safety, freedom, and honour, and expresses his willingness to comply with the Parliament in everything that may be for the good of his subjects. As an earnest of his Majesty's good intentions, the garrisons of Oxford, Lichfield, Worcester, and Wallingford, were ordered to be surrendered to the Parliament. This, however, be it remembered, was after further resistance had become hopeless. His real motives for wishing to visit London are best displayed in a private letter to Digby, in which his Majesty concludes with the following pithy sentence: 'Being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the Presbyterians or the Independents to side with me for *extirpating one another*, then I shall be really king again.'

But let us now see what kind of a reception the King met with from the Scots' army. His journey had not been a very happy or encouraging one. It appears his Majesty left Oxford on horseback at midnight, on April 27, in company with Dr. Hudson and

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Mr. Ashburnham, the latter riding behind with the cloak-bag, in the capacity of a servant. They got on tolerably well at first, passing through Henley-on-Thames, Brendford, and Harrow-on-the-Hill, until they came near to St. Alban's, where they were overtaken by a person riding swiftly as if in pursuit, to the no small alarm of the King; the man proved, however, to be only a drunken fellow on horseback. It had been previously arranged that at Market-Harborough the French agent, Monsieur Montriel, was to meet them, in order to conduct his Majesty to the Scots' army; but on reaching that town no French agent was there, so they rode on to Stamford, and stayed during the night. The next day they proceeded to Downham, and remained until the following Monday; Hudson, in the meantime, going in search of Montriel, who was at length discovered at Southam. It is related that, whilst at Downham, the King went into a barber's shop to get his beard trimmed. Whilst this was being done, the barber, noticing the unprofessional state of that appendage, remarked that 'whosoever had trimmed his beard the last time he was much to blame for the manner he had done it,' little dreaming whose beard he was trimming. Most probably the King's own hands had last performed that office, having operated thus the better to escape detection.

On the Monday, accompanied by Montriel and a troop of horse, his Majesty proceeded to join the Scotch army, reaching it on the 5th, without further delay or mishap.

It would appear, from the following letter written by the Scots' general, Leven, the day after the King's

arrival, that his Majesty's visit had neither been sought or expected by the Presbyterian army:—

'*To the Committee of both Kingdoms.*

'The King came to our army yesterday, in so private a way, that after we had made search for him we could not find him out. His coming was matter of much astonishment to us . . . Trusting to our integrity, we do persuade ourselves that none will so far misconstrue us as that we intended to make use of this seeming advance for promoting any other ends then are expressed in the Covenant. We seek your Lordships' advice.'

The news of the King's arrival rapidly spread throughout the kingdom, and caused great consternation. It was known in London twenty-four hours after, and on the same evening a vote was passed in the House, ordering the King to be sent to Warwick Castle, and those who had accompanied him in his flight to be delivered to the Serjeant-at-arms as delinquents. A resolution to that effect was duly forwarded to General Leven; but the Scots knew full well what they were about, and the mercantile value of the prize so unexpectedly come into their possession. They were not, therefore, to be cajoled into giving up their prisoner in obedience to any vote or order the Parliament might pass, without the necessary *quid pro quo*, as will be seen hereafter. Their co-operation in the war had so far been a great pecuniary loss to themselves; the promised funds had not been sent, for the exhausted state of the ex-

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chequer had hitherto prevented the Parliament from fulfilling that part of the contract. They had now got substantial security for the debt; of its value none knew better than the cannie inhabitants north of the Tweed. The better to secure their good fortune, it was decided that a march northward should be immediately put into execution, so soon as matters in their immediate vicinity were settled. Newark had held out for the King since November; but the noble defence of Lord Belasyse, the governor, and his brave troops, was now rendered useless and all in vain by the monarch on whose behalf they had so succesfully resisted, and negotiations for its surrender were to triumph over what military strategy had failed to conquer. Charles at first hesitated to the terms proposed. He had no objection to order the surrender to the Scottish general, but demurred to including the English Parliament, in whose name it was also stipulated. It was urged, however, in reply, that as the two nations were one in action, such a distinction could not be recognized, and Charles was obliged to submit.

A few days later the Scottish army moved northwards, arriving at Newcastle on May 13.

The King was the guest of General Leven, and continued during the next twelve months at the headquarters of the Scots' general.

It would seem that Cromwell, after the King's flight, remained with the army before Oxford only a short time; for the war being over, his presence at St. Stephen's was deemed of more importance than that of remaining with the general. Before,

however, taking his departure, an interesting domestic incident occurred: namely, the marriage of his eldest daughter, Bridget, with Ireton, the hero of Naseby. A year and a day had expired since that memorable and decisive battle. It will be recollected that Ireton, who commanded the left wing of the Parliamentary army, was overwhelmed by the charge of the Royalists led by Prince Rupert; and after being wounded in the thigh, his horse shot under him, and another wound in the face, he was taken prisoner, but effected his escape towards the close of the battle, when the fortune of the day had declared in favour of the Parliamentarians. The marriage took place at the residence of General Fairfax, five miles from Oxford, on Monday, June 15. A week later Ireton's antagonist, Prince Rupert, had become a fugitive retreating to the sea-coast, all hope in the Royalist cause being at an end, the treaty for the surrender of Oxford having been signed on the Saturday previous.

Ireton, who belonged to a respectable Nottinghamshire family, was fast rising into fame and distinction. He had been appointed Commissary-General to Fairfax; in great favour at head-quarters; and now, by his marriage into Cromwell's family, soon obtained political distinction, and represented the borough of Appleby in Parliament.

Cromwell, on arriving in town, took up his residence in the then fashionable quarter of Drury Lane. A few months later he migrated westward, and removed to King Street, Westminster. It is generally supposed that he was joined by his wife and family at the latter abode. There are but few letters to be

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met with of his at this period, and those are not of much general interest. They are chiefly letters of introduction or recommendation to the general on behalf of young men he wished to serve. He appears to have corresponded with Fairfax frequently, and to have kept that general *au fait* with the leading events of the day. In one, dated August 10, allusion is made to the King at Newcastle, as follows :—

'Our Commissioners sent to the King came this night to London. I have spoken with two of them, and can only learn these generals [particulars], that there appears a good inclination in the Scots to the rendition of our towns, and to their march out of the kingdom. . . . The King gave a very general answer. Things are not well in Scotland; would they were in England. We are full of faction, and worse.'

Cromwell's second daughter, Elizabeth, who had been married to Claypole a few months before her sister Bridget's marriage, was the most beloved by him of all his daughters. These two events happening so closely together probably contributed to break up the family circle at Ely, and doubtless reconciled both the mother and the wife of Cromwell to the change of residence they were called upon to make. The outpouring of the father's heart for the welfare of his children is evidenced in the following letter, written from London by Cromwell to Bridget, in October of this year. Elizabeth was five years younger than her sister Bridget.

'Dear Daughter,—I write not to thy husband, partly to avoid trouble, for one word of mine begets

many of his, which I doubt makes him sit up too late. . . . Your friends at Ely are well. Your sister Claypole is, I trust in mercy, exercised with some perplexed thoughts; she sees her own vanity and carnal mind, bewailing it. She seeks after, as I hope also, what will satisfy; and thus to be a seeker is to be of the best next to a finder, and such an one shall every faithful humble seeker be at the end—happy seeker, happy finder. Whoever tasted that the Lord is gracious without some sense of self-vanity and badness? Whoever that graciousness of His and could go less in desire—less in pressing after full enjoyment? Dear heart, press on! Let not husband, let not anything, cool thy affections after Christ. I hope he will be an occasion to inflame them. That which is best worthy of love in thy husband is that of the image of Christ he bears: look on that and love it best, and all the rest for that. I pray for him and thee; do so for me. My service and dear affection to the general and generaless. I hear she is very kind to thee: it adds to all other obligations.

'I am thy dear Father,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'

That Cromwell loved and esteemed his new son-in-law for something that he saw in him beyond what merely related to military excellence, is evidenced from what he here writes. Indeed Ireton was a deeply earnest, simple-minded, religious man, and one who carried his religion with him into all the relations of life; a man of prayer, fervent,

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consistent, and genuine in all his friendships, beloved and respected by all with whom he came in contact.

Heath, in his 'Flagellum,' a violently prejudiced witness, has declared that Ireton was 'absolutely the best prayer maker and preacher in the army, for which,' says he, 'he may thank his education at Oxford; though Oliver came but little behind him.' But concludes Heath, 'It was all one to the soldiers, who had nothing else to do than to prey and to pray.'

The next two months were occupied by the Parliament in preparing their proposals of peace, which, after being submitted to the Scottish Commissioners in London, and approved of by them, were forwarded to Newcastle for the King's acceptance on July 11. As these terms were refused on August 1 following, it may be curious briefly to recite the principal items, in order to show the relative position of each party, and the future footing on which the dominant faction at Westminster were willing to reinstate the monarch on the throne. All past attainders and outlawries were to be null and void. The Solemn League and Covenant to be accepted pure and simple. The hierarchy to be abolished *in toto*, and the Westminster Assembly of Divines, or *dry-vines*, as Lilburne jocosely called them, confirmed in their office. Statutes against popery and pluralities were to be enacted and authorised. The Parliament to have sole control for twenty years over the army and navy. Exceptions to a general pardon were to be made against those members who had deserted the Parliament at Westminster, or of any persons who had *borne arms against the Parliament*, or who had been concerned in

assisting the Irish rebels; and the estates of such persons were to be sold, and the proceeds paid into the public exchequer. The militia placed under the control of the Lord Mayor. Charters were to be confirmed; and finally, the appointment of Lieutenant of the Tower to rest with the corporation of the city of London.

The English Commissioners returned with the King's answer, as we have seen, on August 10. It must have been slow travelling in those times, when ten days were required to bring an important message from Newcastle to London. 'I never can condescend,' said the King in this document, 'to what is absolutely destructive to that just power which by the laws of God and the land I was born unto; but I will cheerfully grant and give my consent to all such Bills as shall be for the good and peace of my people, not having regard to my own in particular.'

This refusal simplified matters very considerably with the Scots, who were now convinced that Charles would never give his consent to the introduction in England of the Solemn League and Covenant. They were, therefore, the more willing to discuss with the Parliament the terms on which their army should retire, and the surrender of the King to the English Commissioners. The possession of the King's person proved of great advantage in urging their exorbitant pecuniary demands. Two millions sterling was the modest sum they at first claimed, nominally under the plea of arrears, but substantially as the price of the commodity they had to sell. This sum, after some negotiation, was cut down to 400,000*l.*; half to

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be paid in advance, and the rest at a more convenient season.

The English Presbyterians were now in a fair way of accomplishing their designs, which were the possession of the King's person, the riddance of the Scots, and the disbandment of their own army. The two first were all but achieved, and no serious difficulty seemed to present itself to the success of the latter. In this, however, they were not a little out of their reckoning, as will be seen hereafter. More patient and abiding, the English army under Fairfax at Nottingham, with its plotters and schemers, narrowly watched these proceedings. Meanwhile Cromwell was not idle in Parliament, where his emissaries were actively employed in sounding the members and reporting the results to Oliver, who in his turn informed Ireton, his son-in-law, how matters were going on. Nor were there wanting materials at hand for successful agitation in the army, whenever, as soon happened, occasion served; for no sooner had the Scots' negotiations come to a favourable issue than the cry arose, 'Disband the army!' The citizens of London were specially emphatic and outspoken in this matter.

'We have had,' says Cromwell, in a letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax, written on December 21, 'a very long petition from the City: how it strikes at the army, and what other aims it has, you will see by the contents of it, as also what is the prevailing temper at this present, and what is to be expected from men. But this is our comfort, [that] God is in heaven, and He doth what pleaseth Him. His, and only His, counsel shall stand, whatsoever the designs of men and the fury of the people be.'

The principal grievances complained of by the English army, now composed for the most part of Independents, were arrears of pay, the Presbyterian ascendency in the House of Commons, and the hostility shown towards them on the part of the King. It will shortly be seen to what purpose these were made subservient by the Commander-in-Chief and the principal officers. In the meantime the exertions of the Parliament were concentrated on fulfilling the pecuniary contract entered into with the Scots. It was not until the close of the year that the sum required could be got together; and, on December 16, some troops under General Skippon convoyed the first instalment to them at Newcastle.

On the road some of the carts containing the silver were upset in the neighbourhood of York, to the no small dismay of the guards, who feared that the Scots would refuse the treasure in consequence of its soiled condition; but, it is quaintly added, by the chronicler of the event, 'this circumstance did not prevent them from receiving it.' As an exemplification of the clumsy counting system then in vogue, we are told that upwards of a fortnight was employed in this occupation.

It is a curious, if not a suspicious coincidence, and one that strengthens very much the impression so general of the Scots having sold their King into the hands of his enemies, that on this same sixteenth day of December the Parliament in Scotland came to the resolution empowering their Commissioners in London to demand from the English Parliament that Charles should be allowed to return to London with

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honour and safety; thus endeavouring to make it appear that the surrender of the King's person was in no way connected with the pecuniary considerations now on the eve of fulfilment.

Another noticeable and significant coincidence in reference to dates may be mentioned. On January 30 the King was delivered by the Scots into the hands of the Parliamentary Commissioners, sent for the purpose of conducting him to Holmby House, and on the same date, January 30 two years hence, the fatal consequences of this act of the Presbyterians were consummated at Whitehall.

The King, whilst with the Scots' army at Newcastle, had been more hampered and restrained in the exercise of his religious observances than has generally been supposed. The unconditional acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant was by them made a point of more importance than all other considerations. He was repeatedly pressed to attend the ministry of two celebrated Presbyterian divines, but invariably refused; consequently they retaliated, by preventing his own chaplains officiating before him according to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, on the ground that the Common Prayer Book had been abolished by Act of Parliament two years previous. On one occasion, however, if not more frequently, he attended the Presbyterian service, for we are told that a minister who had been preaching a long hour on the importance of Scottish orthodoxy, at the conclusion of his sermon gave out the fifty-second psalm, which begins, in the Scottish version,

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast thyself, thy wicked works to praise. CHAP. X. 1647

Whereupon his Majesty stood up and called for the fifty-sixth psalm, which commences,

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray, for men would me devour.

The congregation, it is added, set aside the minister's psalm, and sang the one the King had called for.

The journey from Newcastle to Holmby House took ten days to accomplish. When within two days' distance of the latter place, his Majesty was met by the Parliamentary general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who alighted and kissed the King's hand; he then mounted his horse, and rode by the King's side into Nottingham. On his way to join the King, Sir Thomas, who was accompanied by Lady Fairfax, stayed a night at Leicester.

The following description of their reception illustrates the manners of the time:—

'*Leicester*, *February* 8.—His Excellency Sir Thomas Fairfax came on Tuesday the 2nd at night, where he received great civilities. The mayor and aldermen met him out of the town, brought him in with great respect, and after supper presented him with a large bouquet, with plenty of wine, a great many of the inhabitants giving him thanks for favours. The next morning their wives waited upon the Lady Fairfax with *oysters*, great cakes, wine, a bouquet, and other things.'

Let us recapitulate the position of the political chess-board in England, at the opening of the vernal equinox in 1647. There were the Royalists, the

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Roundheads, and the Scots: representing three well-defined religious denominational antagonisms, composed of Episcopalians, Independents, and Presbyterians. The stronghold of the latter in England had hitherto been at Westminster: the majority of the Lower House being composed, for the most part, of members with strong Presbyterian tendencies. Their foes, the Royalists, being now *hors de combat*, the struggle henceforth for supremacy lay between the Independents and themselves. In point of position, the advantage at this period was decidedly on the side of the Presbyterians: they were in possession of the Government, the sinews of war, and the person of the King. The real strength of the Independents, however, and that which ultimately decided the question in their favour, lay in their resolute, self-reliant, dogged courage, which no reverse could lessen or subdue; but, above all, in the personal character and genius of their great leader, Oliver Cromwell. For the present hard cash won the day, and the Parliamentarians were the victors. Sullen and indignant, the army under Fairfax and Cromwell saw the money, which they rightly considered in common justice should have gone into their own pockets for arrears of pay, pass into the pockets of the Covenanters, and carried away by them to be spent in their own far-off country.

Toleration in matters of religion—such, at least, as is understood in the popular interpretation of that word—is elastic enough, so long as the monetary ingredient is not an element in the consideration; but the moment that is touched, it is otherwise. When it was discovered that the acceptance of the Solemn

League and Covenant involved a recognition of the substantial pecuniary claims which by skilful manœuvering had been successfully obtained, the chances were lessened very considerably of religious convictions following the direction the money had taken; and no one act of the Presbyterians did more to damage their cause in England with the army and the people than this pecuniary transaction.

But to assert, as some writers have done, that in the disposal of the King, money and the amount of it were the *only* objects the Scots had in view, is contrary to all historical facts. It is often the habit of indolent, inconsiderate persons, unable or unwilling to perform the task of careful analysis whenever a psychological difficulty presents itself, to dispose of it by resorting to generalisations rather than to the examination of antecedent facts. *A priori* reasonings on the complicated motives influencing the human mind, seldom aid in procuring a satisfactory solution of the difficulty.

Those loyal Presbyterians could little have imagined, whilst tediously counting out the contents of the clay-begrimed money-boxes, that they themselves were but assisting to forge the first links in a chain of events, the last of which would, in reference to their beloved monarch, terminate in the headsman's axe! On the other hand it has been equally asserted—regardless of historical facts to the contrary—that, in all the misfortunes which befel the monarch and the nation, Cromwell alone was the contriver, the instigator; and that too for his own nefarious purposes of self-aggrandisement. He is successively charged with foment-

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ing the cruel wars, provoking the crooked policy of the King, the Puritan outbreak, and the army troubles. The King's trial, violent death, and his own subsequent elevation as Lord Protector, were but the finale of his successful and deep laid scheme, if the Royalists historians are to be credited.

For the present, however, the Scots' army is disposed of. But for his Majesty's timely visit to their camp, no English siller would probably have crossed their palm for many a long day to come. Of the three great antagonistic parties engaged in this game, it may be truly said of one at least that the possession of the King's person ultimately led to the downfall of the monarchy and their own subsequent dispersion. Who but the Omnicient could forsee these consequences? The results have shown that, where liberty is concerned, there are other and more powerful motives deeply influencing Englishmen than what the mere love for monarchical institutions calls forth.

That presbyterianism might for a time have been successfully transplanted into England, had the Presbyterian Parliament coalesced *with* instead of purchasing the absence of the Scots' army at this juncture, there can be very little doubt. How long it would have been permitted to remain amongst us is another matter. Granted even that the King could never have been prevailed upon to take the Covenant pure and simple, still Presbyterians would for a time have been triumphant over the English army of Independents; and the modifications the Covenant underwent, to which the King subsequently as-

sented, would have gone far to cement all parties together on the great religious question of the day.

Hitherto, of the three powers opposed to the King, the army had been the principal sufferer in the struggle. Many weeks in arrear of their pay; without money or resources, wretchedly clothed; often reduced to the meanest food, and compelled by their necessities to forage among the inhabitants on free quarter, thereby rendering themselves unpopular wherever they appeared. It was not, therefore, without alarm that the soldiers had witnessed this last successful stroke of Presbyterian policy.

True to his policy of playing one party off against the other, in the hope that by their exhaustion he could easily step in and destroy the third, the King nevertheless showed greater hostility throughout the struggle towards the English Parliament than to the Scots, or to the army from whence all his reverses were due. This was evident in his selection of the Scots' army for protection, rather than go to the Parliament at Westminster; and his subsequent transactions, as will be seen, proved that towards the army he had no fear or hesitation in trusting his person within its precincts. That the fresh outbreak of the civil war which occurred the following year—the consequent invasion of England by the Scots; together with the hot-headed, misguided zeal, of the Cavaliers—precipitated events, to the fatal injury of the King's cause, there is very little doubt; but at the same time it must not be overlooked that the military despotism which succeeded had its origin in the wide spread religious antagonism to prelacy,

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popery, and presbyterianism, rather than to any hostility felt towards monarchical institutions.

Henceforth, as we have already said, the struggle for supremacy lay between the Parliament and its army; and during the five or six months that the former kept possession of the King's person, their position was undoubtedly the strongest, and presbyterianism became rampant in Church and State. Those members who up to this time had successfully evaded the Solemn League and Covenant were now required to take the oath of conformity, or be excluded from their seat in Parliament. Monthly fasts were instituted and strictly observed, the most famous of the Presbyterian ministers usually being selected to preach before the House.

These sermons, by the ton weight, may be seen any day among the King's Pamphlets in the British Museum, by those who have any curiosity in the matter. Dreary work it will be to wade through most of them; and a puzzling problem it is to understand how hundreds of grave, sensible men, could have listened by the hour, as they are said to have done, to these discourses. John Lilburn well described their authors as 'dry vines' instead of divines. Marshall, Calamy, Vines, and Obadiah Sedgwick, and one or two more, alone possess any originality of thought. The rest may be safely passed over in silence.

Delinquent clergymen had now become a source of great trouble to the House; often whole days were spent in discussing how best to dispose of them. An effectual method was at length hit upon. It was ordered that none should be permitted into any

pulpit without first having taken the Covenant, and obtained the consent of both Houses. Nor were the Peers less favourably disposed towards presbyterianism than the Lower House; for their lordships passed a bill in March of this year for the sale of 'the mitre, crozier, copes, and other popish trinkery, brought from Oxford.'

The altar-plate of Whitehall was also ordered to be melted; nay, the lead which covered the church steeples was in many instances taken away and sold by order of Parliament. The payment of tithes was generally refused, so that newly appointed ministers who *had* taken the Covenant could not obtain their dues, and complained in vain to the House for redress. The learned and pious Dr. Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, who had been deprived of his revenues and left destitute, was more fortunate; for, on petition, he was allowed 100*l.* per quarter, which pension, to the credit of Cromwell, was afterwards continued until the prelate's death.

The deplorable state of religion throughout the country is most strikingly depicted in a petition from the citizens of London, presented to Parliament during this year, in which they complained of a general want felt for the preaching of the gospel throughout the kingdom; that there were hundreds of towns and villages totally destitute of either ministers or preaching; and, as a consequence, ignorance, drunkenness, profanity, and disaffection to Parliament and to others in authority, abounded; there being scarcely so much as 'any face of religion in many places.'

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The steps taken by the legislature to correct this state of things were in accordance with the European theological system then as now in vogue, one of its axioms being that a nation can be made religious by Act of Parliament. Coercive measures were therefore enacted; stage-plays suppressed, and the seats of the play-houses pulled down and removed.

The players, however, turned up again in the large rooms of the public-houses, which were converted into theatres; until at length the House of Lords passed an ordinance for effectually putting a stop to them, by fining every spectator five shillings. Another ordinance passed at the same time for the repair of churches; and the singular spectacle might be witnessed of repairs going on in the interior of a church, whilst the steeple was being stripped of its leaden covering which preserved it from decay.

The celebrated Westminster Confession, which had occupied the Assembly of Divines four years in its preparation, was at last completed and presented to Parliament; when, after a discussion extending over a period of two months, it was finally agreed to. This code of religious faith, compiled with so much care and trouble, had but a brief career in this country. It continues, however, to form the doctrinal standard of the Scotch Presbyterian Church to the present day.

Not only were theatrical performances forbidden, but public rejoicings of all kinds were sought to be suppressed. Days which had been specially set apart by the Christian community from time immemorial were obnoxious to the new supremacy. The observ-

ance of Christmas and Easter Days was endeavoured to be set aside, but to this it was soon discovered that the people at large were not a consenting party. These 'vain and superstitious observances,' as the Act of Parliament designated them, it was found, had a stronger hold on the affections of the people than the cold phlegmatic North Briton had any idea of. 1647

From time immemorial the conduit at Cornhill every Christmas had been gaily decorated with holly and ivy, and the people would not consent to forego this custom at the bidding of the Westminster Divines. At Canterbury, the mayor, in his zeal to carry out the Act of Parliament against 'vain and superstitious observances,' had his head broken for his pains, and the town rose in insurrection. The May-poles were condemned by the same learned quidnuncs, and a vain effort was made to remove them. At Bury this attempt caused an insurrection, which required the presence of the borough members of Parliament to suppress. It was no sinecure to be a member in those days. Sunday recreations in Moorfields had long taken place; where taverns and tippling, as a matter of course, abounded. To put a stop to them, the Lord Mayor, one fine Sunday in April, sallied forth with a number of the city force, well armed, and took possession of the long-frequented spot so dear to the Cockney in the days of the Stuarts. The people, we are told, however, "marched into the City; shut the gates of Newgate and Ludgate; took by force a drake [1] thence, got possession of a magazine at Leadenhall, and drove the Lord Mayor to take refuge in the Tower."

[1] A small piece of artillery.

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Fairfax, who happened to be in London at the time, called a council of war, and the disturbance was only quelled by the aid of two regiments sent to assist the City authorities.

These Presbyterian reforming efforts were not confined to London. The Universities came in for their share, and that of Oxford especially met with a sweeping reform at the hands of the new chancellor, the Earl of Pembroke, who went one day in April, accompanied by a troop of horse soldiers, and forcibly ejected the old dons. Reynolds was put in the Vice-Chancellor's seat: Dr. Wilkinson made Master of Magdalen; Dr. Selden, of All Souls, put out, and Dr. Palmer substituted. At Trinity, some resistance being offered, the doors were broken open and Dr. Harris put into possession. Wadham likewise underwent a similar violent entry, and Dr. Wilkins installed Master.

Before resort was had to force, the Heads were summoned to appear before the Chancellor and the Parliamentary Commissioners. Doctors Selden and Bayley boldly denied the authority of Parliament to turn them out. The next day several of the canons of Christchurch were ejected in like manner. This done, the Chancellor, Commissioners, and troops, departed for London, attended by the principal inhabitants to the city gates.

In summing up in few words the verdict which posterity has pronounced on this system of coercion, but few will hesitate, in the exercise of a sound judgment, to agree that it was unsound, impolitic, and in the last degree calculated to defeat the object

proposed; but also must be borne in mind the difference in the times which two centuries have wrought in the morals, manners, and education of the people.

'There is no greater error,' recently remarked a celebrated statesman, 'than to judge the morals of one age by the manners of another. There is no greater error than to censure the passions of perilous times with the philosophical calmness of assured security. There is no greater error than to gauge the intellect of the past and its deficiences, not by its own standard, but by the accumulated wisdom which time has bequeathed to us, and which is our magnificent patrimony.'[1]

[1] Disraeli's speech in the House of Commons, February 11, 1867.

CHAPTER XI.

Increasing Distrust between the Parliament and the Army—Definite Object of each—The Plot thickens—Fairfax removes the Army nearer London—Appointment of Agitators in every Regiment—Cromwell Acquaints Fairfax of the Ill-feeling existing in Parliament against the Army—Alarm at the Approach of Fairfax—Cromwell and others sent as Commissioners to Head-quarters by the Parliament—Their unfavourable Report to the House—Rendezvous at Royston—The Army marches to St. Alban's—Their Complaints, stated in a Letter to the Lord Mayor, signed by the Army Leaders—A Deputation from the Corporation waits upon Fairfax—The Army accuse Eleven Members of Parliament—City Militia and Trained Bands called out—Critical State of the contending Parties—The King at Holmby House—His Majesty surprised and taken away from the Parliamentary Commissioners by Cornet Joyce and a Party of Soldiers—The King not averse to the Change—Remains with a Portion of the Army at Newmarket—Fairfax and Cromwell exculpated from any Share in the Transaction—Important Consequences of this Seizure of his Majesty—The Parliament listens to Reason—Violent Proceedings of the London Apprentices precipitate Matters—March of the Army on London—Confusion in the City, and vacillating Counsel at Guildhall—The Army Manifesto—Arrival of Fairfax at Westminster—His Reception by the Parliament—Is invited to dine at Guildhall, and his Reasons for declining—The Army marches through London into Kent and Surrey—Head-quarters fixed at Putney—Cromwell subdues a Sect called 'the Levellers'—An Ordinance passed in the Commons in favour of 'Tender Consciences'—Toleration in its limited Sense—Falling off in the attendance of Members of Parliament—Irish Affairs, and the Success of Captain Jones—The King at Oatlands and Hampton Court Palace—Proposals for an Understanding not seriously entertained by his Majesty—Embarrassing Interference of the Scots—The King escapes from Hampton Court—Cromwell's Letter to the House—The King gives himself up to the Governor of the Isle of Wight—Cromwell's Letter to Hammond.

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THE next six months, during which the King continued at Holmby, under the care and supervision of the Parliament, was a period of increasing mutual distrust between the two contending parties. The

object sought by each was clear and definite. The struggle resolved itself into one for supremacy. The Parliament was bent on getting rid of the army, and they thought to accomplish this by removing a portion (such soldiers as were willing) to Ireland, in order to encounter the rebels in that country, and to disband the remainder. But before either of these plans could be carried into execution, a large sum of money was necessary to pay off the soldiers' arrears, and the Parliamentary exchequer was empty. A compromise was endeavoured by offering eight weeks' pay towards the fifty-six weeks that were now in arrear, with no offer of security for the remainder, which only served to exasperate them the more. Whilst these negotiations were going on, the Parliament endeavoured to undermine the influence and popularity of the army by all the means within their power. Wherever practicable garrisons were ordered to be dismantled, and because the system of free-quarter served of itself to bring down odium upon the soldiers, they took care that their orders for replenishing the commissariat department should never be carried out, thus rendering the compulsary continuance of this odious system a necessary evil, whilst at the same time it was being openly denounced by the Parliament.

Hitherto the army had carried out the wishes of the Government by remaining at a considerable distance from the metropolis, but now that the plot against them was thickening, Fairfax decided on drawing his forces nearer. Accordingly, in the month of March, he removed into Essex, to the terror of the inhabitants, who petitioned the House for their re-

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moval. These petitions, instead of being dismissed, were favourably received, and ordered to be laid before General Fairfax. In his answer to the Speaker, the general informed the House that the army were excluded by the Earl of Manchester from entering the district of the Eastern Association, therefore he had no alternative than that of quartering his men in the county of Essex. This explanation appears to have satisfied the Parliament, for Fairfax was told to act in this matter; and to quarter his army, 'as he should think fit.' A week or two later another petition was sent from the same county, expressed in stronger language; and to aggravate the circumstances, it was read the following Sunday from the pulpits of all the churches in the district from whence it issued, by the Presbyterian incumbents, and in the presence of the soldiers, who, we are told, were greatly troubled, and cried out 'May we not be heard by petition also?' This new movement was now adopted by the Lord Mayor and corporation of the city of London, a body which from the commencement had been attached to presbyterianism. In their petition they prayed—

'That his Majesty be pursuaded to take the Solemn League and Covenant. That such as have been opposed to Parliament may be removed, or kept at a distance from his Majesty's presence. That the army —which they hoped should ere this have been disbanded, is now drawn suddenly and quartered near, —may be disbanded.'

It was not to be expected that the army would tamely submit to let these petitioners have it all their own way, without making an effort to counteract the

harm it was calculated to do them; most indignant they were that the House should have encouraged this aggression. One of their first acts, by way of retaliation, was to forward a petition to the general, complaining of arrears of pay; they next appointed *agitators*, two out of every regiment, with instructions to consider all Acts of Parliament bearing on, or in reference to their disbandment. The general forwarded the petition to the House, a step the latter resented by ordering the soldiers who brought it into custody. Cromwell, writing from London, on March 11, to General Fairfax, then at head-quarters with the army at Saffron Walden, remarks: 'Never were the spirits of men more embittered than now. Surely the devil hath but a short time. Sir, it is good the heart be fixed against all this. The naked simplicity of Christ, with that wisdom He is pleased to give, and patience will overcome all this.' In a postscript he adds: 'Upon the Feast-day, divers soldiers, horse and foot, near 200, [were] in Covent Garden to prevent *us* soldiers from cutting the Presbyterian throats! These are fine tricks to mock God with!'

The alarm occasioned by the approach of the army induced the authorities to request Fairfax not to approach the metropolis within a radius of five-and-twenty miles; at the same time it was voted: 'That Field-Marshal Skippon, Lieutenant-General Cromwell, Commissary-General Ireton, and Colonel Fleetwood, shall proceed to the army and endeavour to quiet all distempers there.' Accordingly these commissioners, all members of Parliament, proceeded to

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head-quarters and summoned the officers before them, when upwards of 200 responded. The notes of the House were read to them, and, in the discussion which followed, that portion relating to Ireland was discussed with some warmth. 'We must acknowledge,' say the commissioners, in their letter to the Speaker, dated Waldon, May 17, 'we found the army under a deep sense of some sufferings, and the common soldiers much unsettled.' They desired to know what was meant, by 'army distempers.' If 'grievances were meant they had some.' They complained that their petition to the general, which had given such offence to the House, was misunderstood, and protested against being disbanded unaccompanied by the auditing of accounts, an act of indemnity for the past, and a recompense for 'lost limbs' in the service. Were they to be 'denied the liberty of the subject to petition, though it were to their general?' Neither did the proposals for service in Ireland meet with satisfaction, and two weeks' extra pay offered a poor inducement to those who would volunteer; but when it was added that Skippon was to be the general in command, the officers cried out with one voice, 'Fairfax or Cromwell, and we are ready to go.' 12,000 enrolled themselves at once on these conditions. It was all in vain, however, for the Parliament refused consent, and the commissioners returned to town without either making satisfactory arrangements or removing the discontent.

Up to this the army had committed no open act of defiance to the authorities at Westminster. We have now to notice a more hostile attitude. The unsatis-

factory termination to the proposals of the Parliamentary commissioners left but little prospect of any amicable arrangements. Meanwhile, military discontent increased, which soon showed itself in more open acts of aggression. At Oxford, for instance, where the men seized 3,500*l.* of the disbanding money and refused to give it up until their arrears had been settled. This was followed, a week later, by a much more daring exploit, emanating from the same quarter, of which more anon. With the view of allaying the discontent, General Fairfax called together the agitators, and a general rendezvous was the result. At this meeting, which took place on June 10, at Royston, attended by upwards of 20,000 troops, a new selection of commissioners appeared, armed with fresh powers from the Parliament. The notes of the House, in reference to the army, were then read by the commissioners at the head of each regiment. The following details of what took place, as given in Whitlock, may interest the reader:—

'They first acquainted the general's regiment with the notes, and Skippon spake to them to persuade a compliance. An officer of the regiment made answer, "that the regiment did desire that their answer might be returned after perusal of the notes by some select officers and agitators whom the regiment had chosen, and said, this was the motion of the regiment."

'He (Skippon) desired the general and commissioners to give him leave to ask the whole regiment if *this* was their answer. Leave being given they cried "all." Then he put the question, If any man were of a contrary opinion he should say "No;" and

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not one man gave his "No." The agitators, in behalf of the soldiers, pressed to have the question put at once, Whether the regiment did acquiesce and were satisfied with the votes? . . . but this question was laid aside.

'The like was done in the other regiments, and all were very unanimous; and always after the commissioners had done reading the votes, and speaking to each regiment, and had received their answer, all of them cried out, "Justice! Justice!"

'A petition was delivered in the field to the general, in the name of "many well-affected people in Essex," desiring that the army might not be disbanded, in regard that the Commonwealth had many enemies who watched for such an occasion to destroy the good people.'

Cromwell, and the other members of Parliament who had been directed to join their regiments, no doubt were present on this remarkable occasion. That same afternoon the army marched to St. Alban's in order to be nearer London. The following letter was also agreed to, and forwarded to the lord mayor and corporation. It is important, as showing the relative positions of matters as they then stood between the army and the Parliament. It was supposed to have been the composition of Cromwell:—

'*To the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of London*: these—

'Royston, June 10, 1647.

'RIGHT HONOURABLE AND WORTHY FRIENDS:—Having by our letters and other addresses presented by our general to the Honourable House of Commons en-

deavoured to give satisfaction of the clearness of our just demands; and also in papers published by us, remonstrated the grounds of our proceedings in prosecution thereof, all of which being published in print, we are confident have come to your hands, and received a charitable construction from you.

'The sum of all these our desires as soldiers is no other than this:—Satisfaction to our undoubted claims as soldiers, and reparation upon those who have, to the utmost, improved all opportunities and advantages, by false suggestions, misrepresentations, and otherwise, for the destruction of this army, with a perpetual blot of ignominy upon it. Which we should not value if it singly concerned our own particular; being ready to deny ourselves in this, as we have done in other cases, for the kingdom's good; but under this pretence we find no less is involved than the overthrow of the privileges both of Parliament and people; and that rather than they shall fail in their designs, or we receive, what in the eyes of all good men is just right, the kingdom is engaged in a new war; and this singly by those who, when the truth of these things shall be made to appear, will be found to be the authors of those ends that are feared; and who have no other way to protect themselves from question and punishment but by putting the kingdom into blood, under the pretence of their honour and their love to the Parliament. As if that were dearer to them than to us; or as if they had given greater proof of their faithfulness to it than we.

'But we perceive that under these veils and pretences they seek to interest in their design the city of London; as if that city ought to make good their

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miscarriages, and should prefer a few self-seeking men before the welfare of the public. And, indeed, we have found these men so active to accomplish their designs, and to have such apt instruments for their turn in that city, that we have cause to suspect they may engage many therein upon mistakes, which are easily swallowed in times of such prejudice, against them that have given (we may speak it without vanity) the most public testimony of their good affections to the public, and to that city in particular.

'For the thing we insist upon as Englishmen, and surely our being soldiers hath not stript us of that interest, although our malicious enemies would have it so, we desire a settlement of the peace of the kingdom and of the liberties of the subject, according to the votes and declarations of Parliament, which before we took arms, were by the Parliament used as arguments and inducements to invite us and divers of our dear friends out: some of whom have lost their lives in this war. Which being now, by God's blessing finished, we think we have as much right to demand and desire to see a happy settlement, as we have to our money and the other common interest of soldiers, which we have insisted upon. We find also the ingenious and honest people, in almost all parts of the kingdom where we come, full of the sense of ruin and misery if the army should be disbanded *before* the peace of the kingdom and those other things before mentioned have a full and perfect settlement.

'We have said before, and profess it now, we desire no alteration of the Civil Government. As little do we desire to interrupt, or in the least to intermeddle with, the settling of the Presbyterial Government.

'Nor did we seek to open a way for licentious liberty, under pretence of obtaining ease for tender consciences. We profess, as ever in these things, when once the State has made a settlement we have nothing to say but to submit or suffer. Only we could wish that every good citizen, and every man who walks peaceably in a blameless conversation, and is beneficial to the Commonwealth, might have liberty and encouragement; this being according to the true policy of all States, and even to justice itself.

'These in brief are our desires, and the things for which we stand, beyond which we shall not go; and for the obtaining of these things we are drawing near your city, professing sincerely from our hearts we intend not evil towards you; declaring with all confidence and assurance, that if you appear not against us in these our just desires to upset that wicked party which would embroil us and the kingdom, neither we nor our soldiers shall give you the least offence. We come not to do any act to prejudice the being of Parliament, or to the hurt of this in order to the present settlement of the kingdom. We seek the good of all; and we shall wait here, or remove to a farther distance to abide there, if once we be assured that a speedy settlement of things is in hand, until it be accomplished; which done, we shall be most ready, either all of us, or so many of the army as the Parliament shall think fit, to disband, or to go to Ireland.

'And although you may suppose that a rich city may seem an enticing bait to poor hungry soldiers to venture far to gain the wealth thereof; yet, if not provoked by you, we do profess, rather than any such evil should fall out, the soldiers should make their

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way through our blood to effect it; and we can say this for the most of them for your better assurance—that they so little value their pay, in comparison of higher concernments to a public good, that rather than they will be unrighted in the matter of their honesty and integrity, or want the settlement of the kingdom's peace, and their own and their fellow-subjects' liberties, they will lose all. Which may be a strong assurance to you that it's not your wealth they seek, but the things tending in common to your and their welfare.

'That they may attain, you shall do, like fellow-subjects and brethren, if you solicit the Parliament for them, on their behalf.

'If after all this you, or a considerable part of you, be seduced to take up arms in opposition to, or hindrance of, these our just undertakings, we hope we have, by these brotherly premonitions, to the sincerity of which we call God to witness, freed ourselves from all that ruin which may befall that great and populous city; having thereby washed our hands thereof.

'We rest,

'Your affectionate friends to serve you,

'THOMAS FAIRFAX.	HENRY IRETON.
OLIVER CROMWELL.	ROBERT LILBURN.
ROBERT HAMMOND.	JOHN DESBOROW.
THOMAS HAMMOND.	THOMAS RAINSBOROW.
HARDRESS WALLER.	JOHN LAMBERT.
NATHANIEL RICH.	THOMAS HARRISON.'[1]
THOMAS PRIDE.	

[1] Rushworth.

Obscure as are many of the sentences in this remarkable production, it is clear that the 'obnoxious wicked party' alluded to were the Presbyterians, who, in Parliament and in the City, had been so actively engaged in seeking to lessen the influence of the army, and to undermine its character with the nation. But the most alarming portion of the document was that which hinted at the ruin which might befall the great and populous city should this 'enticing bait to poor hungry soldiers' fall in their way. So terrible a calamity as the sack of the City awakened the liveliest fears among the inhabitants, the results of which were seen the day following, when the City magnates proceeded in state to the head-quarters of the army, in order to persuade the general not to approach the metropolis any nearer.

A week later the army followed up its advantage, and proceeded to accuse eleven members of the Lower House of high treason. Messrs. Hollis, Sir William Waller, Stapleton, Massey, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Recorder Glynn, Nichols, Harley, Colonel Long, and Sir John Maynard, were the parties accused. This drew forth replies from the Parliament and the Corporation.

The response of the latter was embodied in a letter to the general and officers, acquainting them that the City entertained no enmity to the army, but sought only to defend the Parliament from any violence which might possibly be offered. That of the Parliament was not so pacific, for an ordinance was passed to assemble the City militia and train-bands, which had already been amalgamated, none

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but Presbyterians devoted to them being permitted to join, when the following agreement was subscribed by those who assembled:—

'Whereas we have entered into a solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the kingdom, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; all which we do eminently perceive to be endangered, and like to be destroyed: we do, therefore, in pursuance of our said covenant, oath of allegiance, oath of every freeman in the cities of London and Westminster, and Protestants, solemnly engage ourselves, and vow unto God Almighty, that we will, to the utmost of our power, cordially endeavour that his Majesty may speedily come to his own Houses of Parliament with honour, safety, and freedom (and that without the nearer approach of the army), there to confirm such things as he has granted in his message of May 12 last, in answer to the proposition of both kingdoms; and that by a personal treaty with his two Houses of Parliament, and the commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, such things as are yet in difference may be speedily settled, and in a firm and lasting peace established. . . .'

Bearing in mind the long series of neglects and provocations the army had received at the hands of the Parliament, and the extremely difficult and precarious position they now found themselves placed in, whilst at the same time it is impossible to defend their conduct in the recent flagrant attack on the independence of the House, it was, we repeat, not in the nature of things to be expected that of the two

alternatives before them, submission or resistance, they should hesitate which to choose; therefore, in preferring the latter course, they were acting consistently, and in accordance with the object for which they had taken up arms, suffered, and bled.

Let us take into consideration the state of the country at this crisis. There was still a large, powerful, and influential party, until lately in arms with the King at their head, watching events, and ready to take advantage of any opening successfully to renew the contest. There were to be found among the Scots a strong, compact, and war-disposed body, daily growing more impatient at the detention of the King, demanding his release and independence of action; ready, as events proved, to take up arms in his cause. Ireland was in armed opposition and rebellion to the authority of the Government; at any moment able to create a diversion by landing troops on the coast of Wales. A powerful body of Cavaliers were watching events in a neighbouring country, with money, means, and resources at command, aided by bold and skilful generals, with the heir apparent at their head, ready to embark for England on the first favourable opportunity; and, if submission had been decided on, there would have been no army to take the field, and a navy not to be depended on. With all these elements combined to work destruction, it is not difficult to foresee what would have been the position of Puritan England and her Parliament when the King once more got 'his own again.' Instead of eleven members impeached, scarce eleven, perhaps, would have escaped impeachment: and to Indepen-

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dents, Presbyterians, and Puritans alike, confiscation of property and expatriation, forced or voluntary, would have marked the advent of the Royalists to power.

But, if only on the mere grounds of expediency the conduct of the army can be justified, had the Parliament a better plea, or one half so conclusive? From the day the King and the Parliament appealed to arms, the statute law of the land was, for the time being, more or less in abeyance; neither party recognising the authority of the other. The allegiance of the army to the Parliament never had an existence; and beyond the fulfilment of a military compact, binding on both sides alike, no claim to authority over them had ever been implied or understood. The violation of that compact originated with the Parliament and not with the army, when the former neglected their part of the contract, and neither paid the soldiers or provided for their sustenance. On three distinct and conspicuous occasions within the past few months had the Parliament been the aggressors. They misused the funds provided for arrears of pay, by appropriating them to the Scots, in order to secure the King's person. They next sought to disband their own forces, and dismiss them without arrears, pensions, compensation for wounds, or indemnity of any kind; and, finally, they encouraged Presbyterian petitions against them, and treated the army remonstrance with disdain, although presented by upwards of 200 officers.

On the review of the whole, it is impossible to escape the conviction that, so far as the material interests of the country were concerned, the army

made a wise choice; of the two evils, military despotism being far more preferable than that worst form of tyranny—anarchy and mob law. CHAP. XI. 1647

Whilst the events just narrated were occurring, the King remained at Holmby House, apparently contented with the exchange he had experienced from the control of the Scots' army to that of the Parliament; inwardly encouraging the hope of being able to play off one party against the other, and thus bring sudden destruction upon both.

> Now whether he kill Cassio,
> Or Cassio him, or each do kill the other,
> Every way makes my gain.

Of his mode of life during the five or six months at Holmby but few glimpses are afforded. The early part appears to have passed pleasantly. His favourite amusement was a game at bowls. 'The King,' says one of the Parliament commissioners, writing from Holmby, 'is very pleasant and merry; his only desire is to come to or near London.' The rest of the day was spent in arguing with the commissioners, chiefly on religious subjects, neither party, as is often the case, succeeding in convincing the other. The poor simple country people, afflicted with the disease known as the king's evil, flocked to him on certain days to be touched, according to the popular superstition—a practice which had survived from the time of Edward the Confessor; nor did this custom cease until the reign of George I., in 1714. His religious convictions appear to have undergone no change by his long residence with the Scottish Presbyterians, nor would he consent to listen to the

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preachers appointed and sent down to enlighten him by the Parliament. 'His Majesty,' says the same quaint writer already quoted, 'refuses to hear our ministers preach unto him, nor will he hear of establishing the Directory (for Church government) until such times as he has consulted with some of his own chaplains: his Majesty's conscience being very tender.' The Presbyterians on their days of fast appear to have met with but little encouragement, for we are told, 'the King was earnestly desired to keep the fast yesterday for the distress of Ireland. His Majesty was content to fast, but would not join in the prayers, because they were altered since, and not by him consented unto.' But a more serious annoyance to him was their interference with his domestic expenditure, and also controlling the number and the choice of those he preferred to have about him. It was in vain the commissioners pleaded the poverty of the country. The King would not give way, until at length the Parliament sent special commissioners to deal with the matter, who restricted the royal establishment in diet, attendance, and the number of persons at court; confining the selection of the latter to persons of known Presbyterian proclivities, and who had adhered to the Parliament.

Under these circumstances it is not so much a matter of surprise that the King, as we are told, became 'very melancholy and let his hair grow.' How far he was acquainted with affairs transpiring between the Parliament and the army at this time is not known; most probably he knew perfectly well the turn things were taking; be that, however, as it

may, the monotony of his daily life was suddenly interrupted, and brought to a conclusion in a most unexpected manner. It will be remembered that a portion of the discontented army had been located far away from head-quarters at Oxford. Some of the more bold and resolute troops were to be found in this division: men who had been especially distinguished for their opposition to the authority of Parliament. Among these was one Joyce, now a cornet in a regiment of horse, but formerly a tailor in London. One night, early in the month of June, Joyce sallied forth outside the gates of Oxford, on horseback, in the company of about 500 troopers, apparently under orders, but, as it proved, without authority from head-quarters; and took swift flight in the direction of Holmby House, whither they arrived about midnight. Having first taken the precaution of posting sentinels round the house, he, in company with a number of troopers, knocked at the door of the mansion and gained admission, not without strong suspicion of connivance. He next proceeded upstairs, and presented himself at the bedside of the King, who had retired for the night. This sudden appearance of an armed man greatly startled his Majesty, who demanded what business he had there. Joyce told him he had come in order to carry his Majesty away from the Parliamentary commissioners, and to remove him to the head-quarters of the army at Taplow Heath. 'By what authority?' demanded the King. 'By the authority of the army,' was Joyce's reply. 'Your Majesty sees our commission,' pointing at the same time significantly to the pistols in his hands, and to his

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followers now waiting at the door of the apartment. 'You have the fairest frontispiece of any that I ever saw, being 500 proper men on horseback,' said the King. A commission so well endorsed admitted of no denial or argument, and his Majesty promised compliance in the morning. It was in vain the commissioners protested the next day; Joyce was deaf to their entreaties, and all they could accomplish was permission to accompany his Majesty on horseback, which they did.

The journey to head-quarters occupied three days. On the road the King slept at Hinchinbrook House, now no longer pertaining to the Cromwells, it having passed by purchase into the hands of Colonel Montague. Forty years had passed since the King, then a little boy, had spent two nights in the same mansion. How great the contrast between this and his former visit, when accompanied by his father, James I., then on his way to take possession of the throne of England.

On arriving at Newmarket, the King was met by Colonel Whalley, with a troop of horse, whom Fairfax, on learning the adventure, had hastily despatched in order to restore his Majesty into the hands of the Parliamentary commissioners: to this latter, however, the King declined compliance, preferring, he said, to remain with the army. Fairfax, in his memoirs, has given us the following version of this transaction:—

'So soon as I heard of it,' writes Fairfax, 'I immediately sent away two regiments of horse, commanded by Colonel Whalley, to set all things right again.

But, before he came to Holmby, the King was advanced two or three miles towards Cambridge, attended by Joyce. When Colonel Whalley acquainted the King he was sent by the general to let him know how much he was troubled at those great insolences committed so near his person, as he had not the least knowledge of them before they were done; and, therefore, he desired his Majesty would be pleased to return again to Holmby: but the King refused to return. The King said positively, he "would not do it."

'The King came that night, or the next, to Sir J. Cutts' house, near Cambridge, and the next day I waited on his Majesty, it being my business to persuade his return to Holmby; but he was otherwise resolved. . . . .

'Having spent a whole day about this business I returned to my quarters, and, as I took leave of the King, he said to me, "Sir, I have as good interest in the army as you." By which I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned on. . . . The agitators could change into that colour which served next to their ends, and had brought the King into an opinion that the army was for him. . . . .

'I called for a Council of War to proceed against Joyce for this high offence; but the officers, whether for fear of the distempered soldiers, or, as I suspected, a secret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours in this ineffectual.'[1]

Clarendon, the Royalist historian, also corroborates the statement relative to the preference shown by the King for the army on this occasion:—

[1] Short Memorials of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, written by Himself.

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'The King,' he remarks, 'was by no means averse to the change, nor was he restricted, as he had been at Holmby, in matters affecting the choice of those about him: liberty was given to any clergymen whom the King might select to come to him, and Dr. Morley, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Hammond, all three staunch Royalists, were chosen as chaplains.'

Cromwell and Ireton are both said to have had an interview with his Majesty at Newmarket; neither of them, however, offered to kiss the royal hand, though, 'in all other points,' it is added, 'they behaved themselves most respectfully.'

The bold and successful manœuvre of Joyce and his 500 troopers had materially altered the relative position of the two contending parties. By whom it was instigated never transpired; but it is impossible to avoid the conviction that a previous understanding and connivance must have existed on the part of some of the general officers. All historians, except the most prejudiced amongst the Royalist writers, agree that Fairfax and Cromwell were kept in the dark in the matter. The latter, as is well known, was occupied in his Parliamentary duties; nor did he leave London until the morning that Joyce set out on his secret expedition.

The success of the scheme, together with the threatening attitude of the army, caused great alarm and perplexity among the Presbyterians in the City and at Westminster. A conciliatory course was thought the wiser and more effective for the Parliament to adopt, whilst with the citizens east of Temple Bar nothing but defiance and resistance became the order

of the day. The Parliament now sent a message to the army granting many of their demands, and the eleven impeached members were also ordered to absent themselves from attendance in Parliament. In the City, however, the train-bands and militia were assembled, and defensive operations commenced in various parts. These antagonistic proceedings between the City and the West End, during the ensuing six weeks, were productive of nothing but anarchy and confusion. Meanwhile the army, now within one day's march of the metropolis, was ready at any moment to step in and decide the matter. This event was precipitated on July 26, by the City apprentices, who, according to Whitelock's version, 'with other rude boys and mean fellows among them, came into the House of Commons, kept the door open and their hats on, calling out as they stood, "Vote, Vote!"' In this arrogant position they remained until the following demands had been read, namely: 'The repeal of the militia ordinance: "That the City be vindicated against a late pretended declaration, that those are traitors who shall act to get subscriptions; and that it may be revoked;" and lastly: 'That both Houses do presently make an order for calling in all absent members, especially the eleven late accused members, against whom there has been nothing proved to this day.'

Another account says: 'The people made a great noise in the ante-rooms. Some knocked at the door of the House; others threw stones in at the windows of the House of Peers. At last both Houses, seeing it would be in vain to resist the multitude, who

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threatened to tear them in pieces, voted, 'That the ordinance for settling the militia of London and the declaration of the 24th of the same intent be null and void.' This done, the House stood adjourned till the next day; but the multitude constrained the Speaker and members to resume their seats, and desired them to vote that the King should come to London; which was done accordingly. The members were then permitted to depart.'[1]

It was busy work in London during the next ten days. So soon as intelligence reached the general that Parliament had been forced by a lawless mob to undo their previous acts, the army was at once marched to Hounslow Heath and Brentford, within twelve miles of London, from whence a sharp letter of rebuke was despatched to the Common Council, complaining that the City authorities had not kept to their promise of preserving order; but, instead of doing so, had encouraged the seditious, and therefore the army would hold them responsible for the consequences that might ensue.

But a more significant proof that the army had recognised its true position was afforded a day or two later, by the appearance of upwards of a hundred members of the two Houses, accompanied by the two Speakers, Lord Manchester and Lenthall, who came to head-quarters at Brentford, where they were received with great acclamation by the soldiers, who shouted, 'Lords and Commons and a free Parliament!' A review was ordered in honour of their arrival, the members accompanying the general on horseback.

[1] Rapin.

A last expiring effort was now made in Parliament by the Presbyterian faction, when the Houses re-assembled on the following Friday. After electing two new Speakers, in the place of those who had gone to the army, they proceeded to pass a vote, recalling the eleven absent Presbyterian members, inviting the King to London, and appointing General Massey commander of the militia, with full power to raise troops. These proceedings, however, were but of small moment to the victorious, well-disciplined army, fully conscious of its ability to put down all opposition or resistance now so near at hand.

The next two days was a period of great excitement in the City: drums beating, flags flying, soldiers galloping to and fro; the shops were closed, and all business totally suspended. The City authorities found much difficulty in procuring horses for their newly-raised forces; private stables were ransacked, and even the judges had some difficulty in preventing their horses from being taken: Mr. Justice Godbelt's were removed, just as he was preparing to start on the Western Circuit, and an order from the House of Lords was necessary before he could obtain them again. The place of rendezvous was Saint James's fields, and thither all enlistments took place. Meanwhile rumours were continually reaching the City of the near approach of the army; and the citizen's hopes and fears fluctuated alternately. If the report came that the army had made a halt, their cry was 'One and all!' if, on the other hand, it was announced they were close upon the City, then nothing but 'Treat, treat, treat.' was heard on all sides. At this

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particular crisis the example of the Southwark inhabitants threw a damper on the popular enthusiasm, for they refused to enlist, claiming exemption on the ground that they were not within the City jurisdiction. Having sent a message to General Fairfax, soliciting 'peace and a sweet composure,' the inhabitants of the borough then proceeded in a large body with a petition to Guildhall, in which was stated their reasons for refusing to fight. This so exasperated Poyntz, the general of the City forces, that, losing all patience, he dashed in upon them on horseback, sword in hand, slashing and wounding many, some of whom died.

Meanwhile, the Commander-in-Chief, General Massey, in order to allay the fears of the populace, and being desirous of obtaining authentic information, sent out scouts on the Brentford road, not, however, with impunity, for they encountered a few of Fairfax's soldiers, who made thirty of them prisoners and took a flag. All through the night the Common Council sate deliberating at Guildhall, not knowing what to do; until, at length, their fears getting the better of their courage, it was decided to send a humble letter to General Fairfax, beseeching him that there 'might be a way of composure;' but it was too late, for early the next morning the army, in a compact body, marched towards London. Before, however, starting, the general published an army manifesto directed chiefly against the City, in which they complained as follows:—

'That underhand enlisting had been procured, contrived by a wicked and treasonable combination; that the City had been well-preserved for four years

whilst the militia was in the hands of the old commissioners, persons without exception proper and honourable; they therefore protest against it being taken out of their hands and placed in the hands of those at present, who had been very cool in the service of the Parliament. At the same time the Common Council had been newly modellized, and a lord mayor chosen favourable to these changes, whilst others, not so favourably inclined, had been rejected; that the honour of Parliament was being continually trampled under foot, and their authority set at defiance by every rabble of women, apprentices, reformadoes, and soldiers.'

They also protested against the election of the new Speakers, and against all votes which had been forced from the two Houses on July 26 last; and also against any as should be passed until the members who had left could safely and peaceably return to their places. Lastly, they demanded that the authors and fomenters of the violence done to Parliament should be delivered up and punished.

When the army had reached Kensington, a deputation from London met the general, and they adjourned to the neighbouring mansion, Holland House, where the formal submission of the civic and Parliamentary authorities was tendered and accepted; after which, the army proceeded, three deep, with laurels in their hats, through Hyde Park to Westminster, accompanied by the Speakers and several of the members. From Holland House the general wrote to the Common Council, assuring the citizens that his object in coming was not to molest in any

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way, or deprive them of their property, but solely to preserve the privileges of Parliament, and to protect the persons of its members from violence.

On reaching Westminster, Fairfax alighted at the house of Sir Abraham Williams, in New Palace Yard, where he remained whilst the Speakers, with the members, proceeded to their places in Parliament. The House of Commons, on meeting, immediately passed two resolutions, one making Fairfax Constable of the Tower, the other inviting him to enter the House that he might receive the thanks of Parliament, which he accordingly did, when he was received with much honour, the members all standing. The resolutions having been read in his presence, the general, who was accompanied by Cromwell, then bowed and retired. It was afterwards voted that a day of thanksgiving should be set apart, and a month's pay as a gratuity given to the soldiers.

The day following, the now no longer belligerent Common Council waited upon Fairfax, to invite him to a grand banquet at Guildhall, which he thought proper to decline, thanking them, however, and assigning as a reason the many great affairs pressing upon him. A magnificent ewer and basin of wrought gold was subsequently presented to him by the corporation.

The next day the army marched through the City without halting, much to the joy of the citizens, who were frightened for their property, and proceeded over London Bridge into Kent, Croydon being chosen for head-quarters. It was, however, soon removed to Kingston-upon-Thames, in order the better to

watch the movements of the King, who had now gone to reside at Oatland's Park. Shortly after, his Majesty again changed his residence, and went to Hampton Court, and the head-quarters of the army were consequently removed to Putney. With the latter came Oliver Cromwell. One hundred and fifty years had elapsed since the forge and the hammer of his ancestor, the Putney blacksmith, had awakened the echoes of that quaint old village. We may, without venturing far into the regions of improbability, fancy our silent Oliver, in his moody moments, standing on the banks of the noble Thames close by, watching the tide as it ebbed and flowed; and, in thought, going back those many years in wonder and amazement at the good providence of God, which, from such small beginnings, had prospered and preserved his family through several generations; or, perhaps, visiting the churchyard, where, for aught we know to the contrary, the remains of the old brewer and blacksmith had been interred, and there lay mouldering in the dust. We may imagine him also sitting in the old oak pew of the ancient parish church on a Sunday morning, listening to a long-winded sermon from Hugh Peters; and then the stern realities of his own responsibilities, cares, and anxieties, would probably force themselves into the foreground, and throw a gloom over the whole.

The most pressing want felt by the army was money, and how to raise it was still the difficulty. Only a few weeks after reaching head-quarters at Putney, we read that 'all was at a standstill for want of money; and, among other schemes for raising tem-

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porary supplies, it was proposed, at a conference held one Sunday afternoon, in September, in the parish church, shortly after a sermon had been delivered by Hugh Peters, to petition Parliament for leave to raise a supply by a levy to be collected *by the soldiers* from the principal inhabitants in the metropolis and the suburbs.[1]

This scheme, however, met with no favour in Parliament; but it produced at least this effect, for it induced the House seriously to consider the evils which threatened a further delay or postponement in reference to the pressing pecuniary wants of the forces in arms; and a resolution was passed empowering the sale of the land belonging to deans and chapters, and of the remainder of the bishops' lands, the proceeds being devoted to the army.

Meanwhile, a troublesome sect of religionists had sprung up in certain regiments, called Levellers, requiring all the vigilance of Cromwell to manage and subdue. The origin of this once powerful sect dates so far back as the sixteenth century, when a fanatic named Munzer rendered himself formidable by collecting his followers, and destroying all the images Luther had left in the churches of Germany. A powerful army of confederates, amounting to 40,000 men was next formed, who endeavoured to spread abroad their leader's doctrine, that as mankind were all equal, there ought to be no inequality of property.

Munzer, backed by his large army, proceeded to enforce his principles by commanding the sovereign princes of Germany, and the magistrates of cities, to

[1] Whitelock.

resign their authority. He was at length defeated by the Landgrave of Hesse, taken prisoner, and executed at Mulhausen, in 1525. That such visionary notions should ever have had any connection with, or sprung from, the great Protestant Reformation, is strange, and proves the perversity there is in the human mind to mix truth with error in hopeless and inexplicable confusion.

Oliver Cromwell, however, made summary work of the cases he discovered in the army. A council of war was called at Putney, in October, to consider a matter of this kind, in which two regiments were implicated; much debate and division of opinion ensued, but he silenced or overruled all opposition, for which he received the thanks of the Parliament in November; and, on the 15th of the same month, the affair was effectually crushed by him at a mutinous rendezvous near Hertford, when, by his timely appearance, eleven of the mutineers were seized, tried by court-martial, and three of them condemned to be shot.

The position of the Parliament during these months was by no means an enviable one. On the one hand they had to deal with a powerful discontented army close to them, whose demands became daily more and more peremptory and exacting, not only in reference to money payments, but also to legislation, and the punishment of those high in office who had opposed the army on the late occasion. Sir John Gayer, the last lord mayor, was one of these, and the House was very reluctantly obliged to condemn him, with four other aldermen, to the Tower, the charge being, 'countenancing and abetting force and tumult.'

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On the other hand they had delicate negotiations to manage with an impracticable and procrastinating monarch, who thought he had everything to gain by delay. The Scots also were loud in their complaints against the Parliament, for submitting to the tyranny of the army, and suffering the removal of the King from their authority. 'The form of Presbyterian government' was also required to be modified to suit the Independents. Cromwell's influence appears in this, as in all other matters. 'I feared to miss the House to-day,' he wrote, October 13, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, 'where it's very necessary for me to be.' Three days later an ordinance passed in favour of 'tender consciences.' Those, however, whose 'consciences' demanded the use of the Book of Common Prayer were especially overlooked in this arrangement.

Toleration there was to be for Dissenters, but none for Episcopalians. Those in the army, or elsewhere, who belonged to Cromwell's sect of Independents, and, therefore, scrupled to take the Solemn League and Covenant, were relieved from taking the oath; all others were required to conform.

Laud's ecclesiastical tyranny had borne its legitimate fruits; so true it is, that the slowest of all growths, and the last of all lessons to learn, is toleration.

If, later on during the Commonwealth, it became a crime in a child to read by the bedside of a sick parent one of those beautiful collects which had soothed the griefs of forty generations of Christians, it became equally a crime to extemporise a prayer after the Restoration, when episcopacy once more was

the dominant form of worship. It was then a crime to attend a dissenting place of worship. A single justice might convict, and for the third offence pass sentence of transportation, without a jury, for seven years beyond sea; and all divines who had been deprived of their benefices, and those who refused to take an unreasonable test which was imposed, were forbidden to come within five miles of any town, corporate or parliamentary, or where they had acted as ministers.[1]

There were, however, many members of Parliament who found it difficult to go with the majority on this and other matters. The consequences of open resistance were too recently exemplified in the fate of the eleven to induce a repetition of the same mode of showing it, instead of which they adopted the silent system, and abstained altogether, not only from voting, but also from appearing in their places. To remedy this, a call of the House was made, when upwards of 150 members, or nearly one-half, were found to be absent. A fine of 20*l.* was ordered if the same thing occurred on the next call of the House, and this appears to have had the desired effect.

Ireland had long been in open and successful rebellion; latterly, however, matters had began somewhat to amend. A vigorous and enterprising officer, one Colonel Jones, formerly governor of Chester, had been sent over in command by the Parliament, and successfully encountered the rebels on several occasions. On the news reaching the army of a great battle and victory fought at Trim, in which the rebels

[1] Macaulay.

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were completely routed, Cromwell, who seems to have had no previous acquaintance with Jones, wrote to him the following letter of congratulation:—

'Putney, September 14, 1647.

'SIR,—The mutual interest and agreement we have in the same cause, give me occasion, as to congratulate [and] abundantly to rejoice in God's gracious dispensation unto you and by you. We have, both in England and Ireland, found the immediate presence and assistance of God, in guiding and succeeding our endeavours hitherto; and therefore ought, as I doubt not both you and we desire, to ascribe the glories of all to Him, and to improve all we receive from Him alone.

'Though it may be for the present, a cloud may lie over our actions to those who are not acquainted with the grounds of them; yet we doubt not but God will clear our integrity and innocency from any other ends we aim at but His glory and the public good. And as you are an instrument herein, so we shall, as becometh us upon all occasions, give you your due honour. For my own particular—wherein I may have your commands to serve you—you shall find none more ready than he that sincerely desires to approve himself,

'Your affectionate friend, and humble servant,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'

Jones's victory at Trim, on August 8, was followed by other successes, although he was most inadequately supported by Parliament with money or soldiers.

A vote for sending 7,000 troops appears never to

have been carried out, other and more pressing events occurring at the time.

The King's sojourn at Hampton Court and Oatlands extended from August 14 to November 11. But few glimpses of his daily life during this interval are afforded. Three of his children were staying at Sion House, not far from Hampton Court, under the charge of the Earl of Northumberland; he was permitted to see them occasionally. The Duke of York was fifteen years old, the Princess Elizabeth a year or two younger, the Duke of Gloucester about seven. Once or twice he dined with them at Sion House. We read that in October the earl applied to the House of Commons for permission to allow his Majesty to see his children at Hampton Court, a request which shows the limited extent of his interviews with them hitherto. Clarendon mentions that the early part of his residence was passed cheerfully. He rode out on horseback on most days, and hunted in the great park. Many of the citizens flocked to see him, and the nobility paid frequent visits. Cromwell is said to have had conferences with the King; but these visits at length gave umbrage to certain parties in the army, and he therefore discontinued them.

Up to this period the King, it was said, had a secret leaning towards the army, fostered no doubt by Cromwell's repeated visits. The hope, so long cherished, that the struggle for supremacy between the two contending parties would be decided by an appeal to arms now began to fail him; not so the expectation that he might yet be called in to act as mediator and arbitrator, in which event the problem of the future

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government of the country he considered could alone be solved by himself and in his own favour. Hence the proposals sent to him by the Parliament for an agreement so anxiously desired by the English and Scottish nations were never seriously entertained. Those proposals were that the Parliament should have in their own hands the exclusive control of the militia for a period of twenty years; all titles of nobility created since the year 1642 were to be annulled; the bishops to be abolished, and Presbyterianism to become the religion of the State; all ecclesiastical property remaining to the deans and chapters was to be sold, and the proceeds to remain at the discretion of the Parliament; and, lastly, royal forests and chases were to be disenforested.

To these propositions the King replied that he could not consent to that which affected the militia or the bishops. He would, nevertheless, agree to the presbytery being established for a limited number of years.

Long debates ensued in the Commons, when it was at length agreed that the answer of the King was a denial of their propositions.

Commissioners were, therefore, appointed, who went to Hampton Court, and stated to the King that it was 'reasonable and necessary that his Majesty should give his consent to such laws as should be agreed to by Parliament for the good of the kingdom.'

The King, in fact, was not in earnest, and this the Parliament and the army plainly understood.

Henceforth his Majesty was neglected by both parties, although he continued to be treated civilly;

nor was he hindered in his rides abroad, although several of the more questionable attendants were discharged and others substituted. The little court at Hampton, therefore, was not 'so merrie as formerly, from the new face of things at Putney and Westminster,' wrote one of the courtiers from thence.

The Parliament was in no envious position at this moment. Besides the failure of negotiations with the King, they had forced upon them for consideration by the army a proposal to put an end to their sittings on September 1 following, and a new Parliament to be elected in its stead, which should assemble biennially. The Scots also chose this period to embarrass them as much as possible with the King. Their commissioners had for some time past been present at Hampton Court, endeavouring to undermine the authority and influence of Westminster, by promises of support if his Majesty would break with them and accede to their proposals.

'The kingdom of Scotland demands,' wrote the Scots' commissioners to the Parliament, early in November, 'to express their resentment at the removal of his Majesty from Holmby. . . .

'Finding the King still kept under the power of the army, we desire to know the certainty of his Majesty's condition; and that the King be invited to London, and not under the power and restraint of the soldiers.'

Meanwhile the army leaders, Fairfax and Cromwell, fell in for their share of the abuse and scurrility which abounded in the wretched public prints of that day. 'Fairfax,' says the 'Mercurius Elenctious'

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of October 29, 'hath removed his head-quarters—for aught I know, the next news may be, that his quarters may be removed from his head. . . . Look about, there are Feltons in the army very near his bosom. . . . As for Cromwell, he's as short-breathed as a mill-horse; if mercy prevent him from a stab let him acknowledge it—he's many *grains* too light—full of dross fit for purging. A brewer's horse will be ere long with him of more value than a royal steed.' One of these scribblers designated him as 'Pontius Pilate Cromwell,' and John Lilburn, of 'dry vines' notoriety, writing about the bountiful care Oliver had taken of his relations in the army, says—

'The lieutenant-general has one son, a captain in the general's Life-Guards; another son captain of a troop in Colonel Harrison's regiment; his brother-in-law, Desborough, is a colonel of the general's regiment of horse; his son-in-law, Ireton, commissary-general of horse; Ireton's brother, quarter-master-general of horse; cousin Whalley, colonel of horse; and Whalley's brother, judge-advocate.'

'These are the days,' says another writer, in full poetic strain, when—

> Thieves do walk in golden chains,
> And pickpockets pass for statesmen!

'Cromwell,' writes another, 'the Scots intend to have whipped through the *malt* market, with a bag of hops to his tail.'

The next act of the King was marked by the same fatality which had ever attended all his unfortunate movements. If the step he adopted of seeking an

asylum in the Scots' army led to his subsequent embarrassment with the Parliament, the one his Majesty now took in secretly withdrawing from Hampton Court was fraught with more fatal results.

Untaught by past experience to regulate his proceedings with some regard to ordinary prudence and forethought in the event of failure, each step he took, every decision he arrived at, served only to render his position more complicated than the one which preceded it. All chance was destroyed, all hope abandoned, of ever being able to come to satisfactory terms with him as a consequence of this last movement. Confidence was gone. 'The royal word! why not trust it?' had been pawned over and over again, until it had become a bye-word. It is for ever to be regretted that the opportunity he now had of escaping beyond sea had not been seized; with a little better arrangement the thing was perfectly practicable; but infirmity of purpose in this, as in every other important crisis of his life, betrayed itself.

It had transpired that for some time past the King's suspicions had been aroused of some unseen danger threatening his life at Hampton Court. Spies had been observed loitering in the neighbourhood of the palace; poison or assassination, it was whispered, was intended. Some such rumour appears to have reached Cromwell at Putney; for early in November he wrote to Colonel Whalley, the officer in charge, as follows:—

'There are rumours abroad of some intended attempt on his Majesty's person. Therefore I pray have a care of your guards. If any such thing should be done, it would be accounted a most horrid act.'

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Clarendon mentions that 'every day secret billets, advertising him of designs against his life, were received by the King.'

It appears that on the day fixed for the escape, namely November 11, the King feigned indisposition and retired early to his room, where he busily occupied himself in writing letters, which were subsequently found on the table.

When the usual hour for supper had long passed, the King not making his appearance, the officers in attendance became alarmed. They were reluctant at first to go into the room or disturb him; but at length, when it was getting towards midnight, they rapped at the door, and not receiving any answer, entered, when it was discovered that the King had fled down the back stairs, with Ashburnham and Legge, two of his confidential attendants, and so to the garden gate, where horses had been kept in waiting: thus the King got clear off. Riding swiftly all through the night, they reached the New Forest early the next day. Now came the critical part of the adventure. The King asked Ashburnham 'where the ships lay?' None, however, were to be seen in the offing, and it is doubtful if one had ever been provided. Ashburnham made a show of seeking the vessel, but returned shortly after without success.

In this dilemma it was decided to visit a friendly mansion in the neighbourhood, belonging to Lord Southampton. They did so, and there it was discussed what was next to be done. Ashburton advised the King to go to the Isle of Wight and trust himself with the governor, to which the King at

length consented, conditionally, we are told, that a promise should first be obtained from the governor that on no consideration was he to be given up to the Parliament or to the army.

Ashburnham having gained the King's consent, started off for the island.

It is most inexplicable how his Majesty—who must have known the antecedents of the governor, and his attachment by ties of friendship, no less than of relationship, to Cromwell—should have consented to surrender himself to the governor of Carisbrook Castle. Colonel Hammond had married a daughter of John Hampden, Cromwell's kinsman.

On that morning Hammond happened to be taking a solitary ride on horseback, in the island, when presently two gentlemen overtook him, and one of them said that the King was near at hand and would be with the Colonel by night.

They also told him his Majesty had escaped from Hampton Court, and was willing to trust his person into the governor's hands, relying on his honour not to betray him into the hands of the army or the Parliament. These gentlemen were Ashburnham and Sir John Berkley. Much surprised, Hammond replied that he would endeavour to do the King all the service that lay in his power, as a subordinate officer bound to obey those whose servant he was. They failed, however, in obtaining any distinct promise from him. To the inquiry where the King was at that moment, they answered by inviting him to accompany them to his Majesty, so they went together to the house of Lord Southampton.

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Arrived at the mansion, Hammond remained outside, whilst Ashburnham went in to acquaint the King of the governor's arrival. His Majesty anxiously demanded if they had first obtained the promise? Ashburnham replied in the negative, when the King cried out, 'O Jack, thou hast undone me!' At this exclamation Ashburnham burst into tears, and became greatly excited, offering to go to Hammond and kill him on the spot, which the King would by no means hear of. At a subsequent interview with Hammond, the King could obtain no better terms than an offer to conduct him with all safety and respect to Carisbrook Castle, a course—the only one in fact open to him—the King adopted.[1]

Meanwhile, all was confusion and dismay at Hampton Court.

On the discovery of the King's escape, information was quickly dispatched to Cromwell, who proceeded in all haste to the Palace, from whence the following hasty letter was dispatched to the Speaker:—

'Hampton Court: twelve at night, Nov. 11, 1647.

'SIR, . . . Majesty . . . withdrawn himself . . . at nine o'clock.

'The manner is variously reported; and we will say little of it at present, but that his Majesty was expected at supper, when the commissioners and Colonel Whalley missed him, upon which they entered the room. They found his Majesty had left his cloak behind him in the gallery in the private way.

[1] Rapin.

He passed by the back stairs and the vault towards the water-side. CHAP. XI. 1647

'He left some letters upon the table in his withdrawing-room, of his own hand-writing; whereof one was to the commissioners of Parliament attending him, to be communicated to both Houses.

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'[1]

Great consternation followed the reading of this letter. Colonel Whalley, the messenger, was called in, and made a particular relation of all the circumstances of the King's escape from Hampton Court.

Of his whereabout the Parliament were not long kept in ignorance; for, fast as horse could fly with the intelligence, there came, from the governor of the Isle of Wight, the welcome news of his Majesty's safe custody.

It was ordered by the House that the 'King be kept in the Castle of Carisbrook, and that no inhabitant who had been in arms against the Parliament be suffered to remain in the island.'

There was no longer any occasion for the headquarters of the army to continue at Putney, now that the King was gone, so a week later they were removed to Windsor. In a letter written by Cromwell to Hammond, in answer to one received from the Colonel, shortly after the occurrence of the events just narrated, we glean the following interesting particulars:—

'Now blessed be God, I can write and thou receive freely. I never in my life saw more deep sense and

[1] Commons' Journals.

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less will to show it unchristianly than in that which thou didst write to us when we were at Windsor, and thou in the midst of thy temptation, which, indeed, by what we understand of it, was a great one. . . . . .

'How good has God been to dispose all to mercy! and although it was a trouble for the present, yet glory has come out of it; for which we praise the Lord with thee and for thee. And truly thy carriage has been such as occasions much honour to the name of God and to religion. Go on in the strength of the Lord, and the Lord will still be with thee.

'Dear Robin, this business has been I trust a mighty providence to this poor kingdom and to us all. The House of Commons is very sensible of the King's dealings, and of our brethren's in this late transaction. You should do well, if you have anything that may discover juggling, to search it out and let us know it. It may be of admirable use at this time, because we shall, I hope, instantly go upon business in relation to them tending to prevent danger. . . . . .

'Let us know how it is with you in point of strength. Some of us think the King well with you, and that it concerns us to keep that island in great security, because of the French. And if so, where can the King be better? If you have more force you will be sure of full provision for them.'

One of the letters found on the King's table, addressed to the Parliament, was to the following effect:—Liberty being in all times the aim and desire of all men, he had endeavoured to obtain his. He

called God to witness with what patience he had endured a tedious restraint, among men who changed their principles with their condition—who were not ashamed openly to intend the destruction of the nobility by taking away their *negative voice*, and with whom the *leveller's* doctrine was rather countenanced than punished. That he thought he was bound, as well by natural as political obligations, to seek his safety, by retiring himself for some time from public view, both of his friends, and enemies. But he should earnestly and unceasingly endeavour the settling of a safe and well-grounded peace wherever he was. Finally, he desired to be heard with freedom, honour, and safety; and then he would instantly break through his cloud of retirement, and show himself ready to be pater patriæ.

CHAPTER XII.

Altered Sentiments towards the King on the part of Cromwell, consequent on his Majesty's Escape from Hampton Court—The King in Confinement at Carisbrook Castle—His Majesty does not yet realize his Position—Dictates Terms to the Parliament—Commissioners sent to Carisbrook—Another Misunderstanding with the Scots, who also send Commissioners—Duplicity of the King in the Negotiations which ensued—A Clandestine Agreement with the Scots concluded—Disturbance at Newport quelled by Hammond—The personal Liberty of the King restricted, and his Attendants discharged—Recent Dangers induce to Harmony the Parliament and the Army—Commissioners sent to Head-quarters—Amicable Arrangements entered upon—Adjutant Allen's Account of the Interview—Its Results—Cromwell's Speech in the House—Gloomy Court at Carisbrook on learning the Issue of the Conference—Severity shown to the King's Adherents at the Isle of Wight—More Restrictions and Privations to the royal Prisoner—Army Grievances still suffered to continue—The Soldiers resort to Violence in some Places—Scarcity of Money in the Parliament Exchequer—Fines on Delinquents—Cromwell in the Spring of 1648 residing in Drury Lane—Richard Cromwell—Oliver's Letter to Norton in reference to his Son's Marriage—Marriage Settlements Letter to General Fairfax—Parliament settles a Pension on Cromwell—He relinquishes it in favour of Ireland.

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THERE can be very little doubt that from the time of the King's escape to the Isle of Wight Cromwell's sentiments towards his Majesty underwent an unfavourable change. Hitherto he had attached some importance, and placed some reliance, on the 'word of a king:' henceforth, we shall see nothing but unmitigated mistrust bordering upon hatred: confidence gone, hope abandoned, and a gloomy deep-rooted incurable conviction that, so far as his Majesty was concerned, the day of negotiation had passed away for ever.

Short of infatuation, the perverse blindness of the King to the consequences of his own acts appears unaccountable. 'Those whom the gods intend to destroy, they strike with madness,' says the heathen proverb.

Shortly after arriving at Carisbrook Castle, he dictated terms to the Parliament, in which he, a prisoner, yet 'every inch a king,' adopts the style of a conqueror and says that, 'being where he conceives himself in a place of more freedom and security, he thinks it necessary at this time to offer such grounds as may lead to the speedy procuring of a peace.' He then dilates on the sanctity of his 'coronation oath, which prevents him from consenting to the abolition of the hierarchy,' yet is willing to violate the constitution in other matters which he had equally sworn by the same oath to maintain. His honour and conscience prevented him from alienating the church lands, because it was sacrilege; yet he would agree that the Presbyterian form of Church Government, as it then existed, should remain for a term of three years, provided that his Majesty and those who thought with him were not required to conform thereto. His conscience, moreover, was sufficiently elastic to tolerate the continuance of the assembly of divines at Westminster, providing twenty other persons of his own nomination were added to the number; but non-elastic in reference to the bishops, who must be continued in perpetuity, notwithstanding the prejudices of the dominant dissenters to the contrary. The royal conscience, in short, suffered two distinct and opposite convictions at one and the same

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moment; and what he thought good for the nation at large to follow, was not, he considered, equally beneficial to himself. As to the militia, he was willing to leave the control of it in the hands of Parliament for the remainder of his reign—a period it was in his power by abdicating to shorten—when it would again revert to the Crown.

The Parliament took no notice of these proposals. They, however, dispatched commissioners to the King, with instructions that a personal treaty would follow on his Majesty's acquiescence to the following acts: namely, to settle the militia in the power of the Parliament, to continue in force for twenty years; to legalise all past opposition of the Parliament, and condonement for all who had joined in the struggle; to deprive all peers created since 1642 of their seats in the House of Lords; and finally, an act empowering the two Houses to adjourn whenever they chose.

These propositions gave rise to a misunderstanding with the Scots, who objected that the Parliament of England had thereby endeavoured to procure a separate peace in violation of the Covenant. They embodied their objections in most offensive terms, in a paper which the two Houses resented; and the printer of the Scots' declaration was committed to prison. The next step was a still more hostile demonstration on the part of the Scots, for they dispatched commissioners to the Isle of Wight, who arrived about the same time as those from the English Parliament.

The duplicity of the King was exhibited at this period in a remarkable manner by what ensued. There were before him two proposals for peace, his own to the Parliament and theirs to his Majesty, to

neither of which had any answer been given; yet no sooner had the Scots made their appearance than the King, disregarding all preceding negotiations, proceeded to make secret terms with the Scots' commissioners, which were signed four days after their arrival. No sooner had this been done than the Parliamentary commissioners were dismissed with a refusal.

A glance at this celebrated document discloses the secret object of this new combination on the part of the King and the commissioners from Scotland. Nothing less than the subjugation of the army, the Parliament, and the English nation, to the King's authority, by the united forces of the Scots' army and the Cavaliers, was contemplated. This accomplished, all the different sects, including Baptists, Brownists, Separatists, and Independents, were to be suppressed. State toleration on religious matters was to extend only to the Presbyterian form of worship; that alone was to continue supreme for a period of three years; his Majesty meanwhile consenting to the Covenant. The Church of England was not, however, to be abolished, but only kept in abeyance, and left unmolested and free to all who prefer her liturgy.

The Scots' commissioners continued for some days at Carisbrook Castle after the agreement had been signed; and their influence in the councils of the King was soon perceptible; for shortly after, a mutiny broke out in the neighbouring town of Newport, among the Cavaliers, headed by one Captain Barley, a person who had been permitted to attend upon his Majesty. By the energetic exertions of the governor, however, it was soon trampled out, and the ringleaders taken prisoners. These events happening almost

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simultaneously—namely, the rejection of the Parliament's proposals, the secret agreement with the Scots, and the mutiny at Newport—were quickly reported to Westminster and the head-quarters of the army, where they produced much anxiety and exasperation, which ultimately reacted most unfavourably in reference to his Majesty, for henceforth he was deprived of those attendants he preferred. Berkley and Ashburton also were banished; his chaplains, Dr. Shelden and Hammond, were removed; a strong guard was placed round the castle, and martial law declared in the island; whilst Rainsborough, with the British fleet, cruised round the coast; and a large armed force arrived, which was placed under the command of the governor.

But more momentous consequences than those just enumerated resulted; and, as is often the case, the presence of a greater evil conduced more to bring about an amicable arrangement between the Parliament and the army than reason or argument had been able to effect; for no sooner had these powers become aware of what was transpiring at Carisbrook, than a sense of mutual danger induced them to forego all past differences, and to bring about the timely union of these two powerful and latterly antagonistic parties. The first advance in this direction was made by the Parliament. Early in January they dispatched commissioners to the head-quarters at Windsor, who were received with great respect and distinction. During this visit, which lasted three days, a satisfactory explanation of the recent votes was given and accepted. Confidence was thus again restored, and we are told

'the agreement was sweet and comfortable; the whole matter of the kingdom being left with the Parliament.' Before taking their departure, Cromwell, Ireton, and the chief officers, dined with the commissioners, and the Castle ordnance gave them a parting salute of twenty-five guns as their vessel left the shore.

An account of what took place at this conference, written by one Adjutant Allen, and published some years later, being somewhat remarkable, deserves insertion.

'In the year 1647,' says the writer, 'we in the army were engaged in actions of a very high nature, leading us to very untrodden paths, both in our conferences with the King and in our contests with the Parliament. In which great works, wanting a spirit of faith, and also the fear of the Lord; and also being unduly surprised with the fear of man, which always brings a snare, we, to make haste as we thought, out of such perplexities, measuring our way by a wisdom of our own, fell into treaties with the King and his party, which proved such a snare to us, and led into such labyrinths by the end of that year, that the very things we thought to avoid by the means we used of our own devising were all, with many more of a far worse and more perplexing nature, brought back upon us; to the overwhelming of our spirit, weakening of our hands and hearts; filling us with divisions, confusions, tumults, and every evil work, and thereby endangering the ruin of our blessed cause, we had with such success been prospered in till that time.

'For now the King and his party, seeing us not

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answer their ends, began to provide for themselves by a treaty with the then Parliament, set on foot about the beginning of 'Forty-eight. The Parliament, also, was displeased with us for what we had done both as to the King and themselves. The good people, likewise, even our most cordial friends in the nation, beholding our turning aside from the path of simplicity we had formerly walked in, and been blessed in, and thereby much endeared in their hearts, began now to fear and withdraw their affections from us. . . . .

'The King and his party prepare accordingly to ruin all by sudden insurrections in most parts of the nation. . . . We, in the army, in a low, weak divided, perplexed, condition, in all respects as aforesaid; some of us judging it a duty to lay down our arms to quit our stations, and put ourselves in the capacity of private men, since what we have done was not accepted by them. Some also even encouraged themselves and us to such a thing by urging for such a practice the example of our Lord Jesus, who when he had borne an eminent testimony to the pleasure of His Father, sealed it at last by His sufferings, which was presented to us as our pattern for imitation. Others of us, however, were different-minded, thinking something of another nature might yet be further our duty; and these, therefore, were by the good hand of the Lord led to this result, viz. to go solemnly, to search out our own iniquities, and humble our souls before the Lord in the sense of the same: which we were persuaded had provoked the Lord against us, bringing such sad perplexities upon us at that day, out of which we saw no way else to extricate ourselves.

'Accordingly we did agree to meet at Windsor Castle, about the beginning of 'Forty-eight. And there we spent one day together in prayer, inquiring into the causes of that sad dispensation, coming to no farther result that day; and on the morrow we met again, where many spake from the Word and prayed; and then Lieutenant-General Cromwell did press very earnestly on all there present to a thorough consideration of our actions as an army, and of our ways particularly as private Christians, to see if any iniquity could be found in them, and what it was, that if possible we might find out, and so remove the cause of such sad rebukes as were upon us. 1648

'And the more particularly the Lord led us to herein was this: to look back and consider what time it was when, with joint satisfaction, we could last say, to the best of our judgments, the presence of the Lord was amongst us, and when rebukes and judgments were not as then upon us. Which time the Lord led us to find out and agree in; and having done so, to proceed, as we then judged it our duty, to search into all our public actions as an army afterwards, duly weighing (as the Lord helped us) each of them with their grounds, rules, and ends as near as we could. And so we concluded this second day with agreeing to meet again on the morrow, which accordingly we did upon the same occasion.

'By which means we were led to find out the very steps by which we had departed from the Lord and provoked Him to depart from us; which we found to be those cursed carnal conferences our own conceited wisdom, our fears, and want of faith, had prompted us

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the year before to entertain with the King and his party. And at this time and on this occasion did we make use of that good Word, Proverbs First and Twenty-third, "*Turn you at my reproof: behold I will pour out my spirit unto you; I will make known my words unto you.*" Which we, having found out our sin, our duty was urged us from those words. And the Lord so accompanied by His spirit that it had a kindly effect like a word of His upon most of our breasts that were then present; which begot in us a great sense of shame and loathing of ourselves for our iniquities, and a justifying of the Lord as righteous in His proceedings against us.

'And in this path the Lord led us not only to see our sin, but also our duty; and this so unanimously set with weight upon each heart that none was able hardly to speak a word to each other for bitter weeping, partly in the sense and shame of our iniquities, of our unbelief, base fear of men, and carnal consultations with our own wisdoms and not with the word of the Lord—which only is a way of wisdom, strength, and safety; and all besides it are ways of snares.

'And yet we were also helped, with fear and trembling, to rejoice in the Lord, whose faithfulness and loving-kindness we were made to see, who no sooner brought us to His feet, acknowledging Him, but He did direct our steps, and presently we were led and helped to a clear agreement amongst ourselves, not any dissenting: That it was the duty of our day, with the forces we had, to go out and fight against those potent enemies, which that year, in all places, appeared against us, with an humble confidence

in the name of the Lord only, that we should destroy them. And we were then also enabled, after serious seeking His face, to come to a very clear and joint resolution, on many grounds at large there debated amongst us: That it was our duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he had shed, and mischief he had done to his utmost against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations.

'And how the Lord led and prospered us in all our undertakings that year in this way, cutting His work short, in righteousness—making it a year of mercy equal, if not transcendent, to any since these wars began; and making it worthy of remembrance by every gracious soul, who was wise to observe the Lord, and the operations of His hands—I wish may never be forgotten.'

And now, having seen by the foregoing narrative how deeply the army leaders were moved by the urgency of their position, let us glance for a moment at the results of their deliberations which had been so solemnly inaugurated. It was decided that the army should be entirely re-modelled. There were to be more officers, less pay, and fewer inefficient soldiers. No more addresses to the King. And it was noted in the two Houses that, for the future, it should be treason to address the King, or to receive letters or messages from him. The committee sitting at Derby House, composed of peers and members, was to be the sole manager 'in a private way' of the affairs of State. The army council also declared their determination to 'maintain the peerage and

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stand up for their support.' These resolutions, endorsed by the Parliament, were ordered to be sent into every county; and the penalty for non-compliance was confiscation of property.

In the debate, Cromwell observed:—

'That the King was a man of great parts, and great understanding; but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted. That whilst he professed with all solemnity that he referred himself wholly to the Parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsel for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had at the same time secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the Parliament. He concluded that they might no further trouble themselves with sending messages to him, or further propositions; but that they might enter upon those counsels which were necessary towards the settlement of the kingdom, without having further recourse to the King.'

The little court at Carisbrook, on learning how matters were in accord between the Parliament and the army, became somewhat gloomy and desponding. Nor had the King and his attendants long to wait for the consequences which ensued. Captain Barley, or Burleigh, was the first victim; being tried by court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced to death, he was speedily executed. The King's attendants, those at least who had made themselves conspicuous in the late disturbance, were summarily ejected from the castle, to the great indignation of his Majesty, who,

says Whitelock, sent for the governor and demanded his authority for sending them away. Hammond replied that he had the authority of both Houses. The King then demanded the cause, to which the governor replied, that it was in consequence of his Majesty being acted upon by other and unfriendly counsels. His Majesty is said to have replied, 'If my people have a mind to be slaves, let them; they shall never be so by any act of mine.' His adherents took leave with much sadness and tears; Master Ashburnham cried outright.

The selection of attendants chosen by the governor in place of those discharged gave great offence to his Majesty. The security of his person being principally in view, Messrs. Herbert, Mildmay, Titus, and Preston, were the men chosen for this office. In a letter from the island, written shortly after, we are told, 'The King is very much broken of late, and discontented at Maule, Murray, and Anstey being taken from him, and is unwilling to have Herbert and Harrison as bed-chamber officers. He will not have his head or beard meddled with by any, unless by a barber of his own choosing.'

Retrenchment in the number of his household was accompanied by other reductions. 'His Majesty's dishes are brought down from twenty to sixteen at a meal, and his Majesty is much overgrown with hair,' writes another correspondent; whilst a third, evidently no partizan, remarks, 'Melancholy court, indeed. Walking the round is the daily recreation; the governor's vigilance is admirable. Rainsborough is at Cowes with eight brave ships.'

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Before entering upon the period of the second civil war, there are one or two matters to dispose of: one in reference to Cromwell's domestic life, though not in strictly chronological order; and another concerning the army arrears, the narration of which would otherwise interfere with more important events.

The old grievances complained of by the army were still suffered to continue. City loans were as difficult to negotiate as ever, and money could not be had to enable the soldiers to discontinue the obnoxious system of free quarters. Symptoms of resorting to a more summary process had begun to show themselves in some places, where isolated detachments of the army had been stationed. At Bristol, for instance, some soldiers seized the person of a wealthy alderman, as he was walking home, and would not part with him until he had given them a month's pay. Similar violence was shown elsewhere. Pecuniary affairs were no better off in Ireland, nay worse, for in February Colonel Jones wrote to the Parliament that his army had been obliged to leave the field because they had 'neither corn nor clothes.' The taxes which had been levied on London to meet these demands were resisted by the people, and a violent disturbance took place in Fleet Street, on attempting to collect the arrears in that neighbourhood. Delinquents' fines and ecclesiastical confiscations, from sheer exhaustion, no longer contributed to the national exchequer. Wealthy offenders against the Parliament, however, were made to pay heavily, and their entire property could only escape confisca-

tion by a submission to enormous exactions. Judge Jenkins being impeached, escaped by paying a large fine; and the late Lord Mayor, Sir John Greer, for refusing to kneel when brought to the bar of the House of Commons, was fined 500*l.* Two other offending aldermen, Messrs. Bunce and Adams, were also fined 500*l.* each, and sent to the Tower, for refusing to acknowledge the right of the Parliament to try them. Little, if any, however, of this money found its way into the pockets of the soldiers, for the Scots were now clamorous for their arrears, and it was politic to keep them in good humour by paying them. It may, therefore, be concluded that, throughout the second civil war, the army depended for its maintenance altogether on forced exactions levied on the unfortunate locality wherever it found itself; the burthen for the most part falling unequally and chiefly on the poor, who resided in country villages and hamlets, whilst the inhabitants of cities or towns escaped comparatively free by reason of their ability to protect themselves.

During the spring of 1648 Cromwell appears to have resided mostly in London, probably in Drury Lane. Three or four of his letters have been preserved, written during this season, but they contain no information on this point. An interesting glimpse of him, and of the cool matter-of-fact manner marriages were arranged 200 years ago, is afforded in the following letter, written by Cromwell to his friend Norton, in reference to Cromwell's eldest son, Richard, now in his twenty-second year:—

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'London: Feb. 20, 1648.

'DEAR NORTON,—I have sent my son over to thee, being willing to answer Providence; and although I had an offer of a very great proposition from a father, of his daughter, yet truly, I rather incline to this in my thoughts; because, though the other be very far greater, yet I see difficulties and not that assurance of godliness—though indeed of fairness. I confess that which is told me concerning the estate of Mr. M. is more than I can look for, as things now stand.

If God please to bring it about, the consideration of piety in the parents, and such hopes of the gentlewoman in that respect, make the business to me of great mercy, concerning which I desire to wait upon God. I am confident of thy love, and desire things may be carried with privacy. The Lord do His will that's best; to which submitting, I rest

Your humble servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.'

A month later we have another epistle, and this time it is 'Dear Dick,' instead of 'Dear Norton.' Colonel Richard Norton was a Hampshire gentleman, which county he represented in Parliament. They had known each other in gone-by years, when serving together under the Earl of Manchester.

Cromwell appears to have had some business to settle in the same county, for he writes from Farnham, March 28, as follows:—

'It had been a favour, indeed, to have met you here at Farnham. But I hear you are a man of great business, therefore I say no more. If it be a

favour to the House of Commons to enjoy you, what is it to me? But, in good earnest, when will you and your brother Russell be a little honest and attend your charge there? Surely some expect it; especially the good fellows who chose you! CHAP. XII. 1648

'I have met with Mr. Mayor (the Mr. M. of the previous letter, and the father of the young lady in question): we spent two or three hours together last night. I perceive the gentleman is very wise and honest, and, indeed, much to be valued. Some things of common fame did a little stick. I gladly heard his doubts, and gave such answer as was next at hand, I believe to some satisfaction. Nevertheless, I exceedingly liked the gentleman's plainness and free dealing with me. I have no cause to complain. I know God has been above all ill reports, and will in His own time vindicate me. I see nothing but that this particular business between him and me may go on. The Lord's will be done.'

Shortly after, Cromwell wrote again to his friend, giving fuller particulars of his interview with Mr. Mayor, in which he says:—

'I could not in my last give you a perfect account of what passed between me and Mr. Mayor, because we were to have a conclusion of our speech that morning after I wrote my letter to you; which we had. And having had a full view of one another's minds we parted with this: that both would consider with our relations, and according to satisfaction given there, acquaint one another with our minds. . . .

'The things insisted upon were these, as I take it: Mr. Mayor desires 400*l.* *per annum* of inheritance,

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lying in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk, to be presently settled and be for maintenance; wherein I desired to be advised by my wife. I offered the land in Hampshire for present maintenance, which I dare say, with copses and ordinary fells, will be, *communibus annis*, 500*l.* *per annum*; and besides, 500*l.* *per annum* in tenants' hands holding but for one life; and about 300*l.* *per annum*, some for two lives, some for three lives. But as to this—if the latter offer be not liked of—I shall be willing a farther conference be held in [reference to] the first.

'In point of jointure I shall give satisfaction. . . . In what else was demanded of me I am willing, so far as I remember any demand was, to give satisfaction. Only I, having been informed by Mr. Robinson that Mr. Mayor did, upon a former match, offer to settle the manor wherein he lived, and to give 2,000*l.* in money, I did insist upon that, and to desire that it may not be, with difficulty. The money I shall need for my two little wenches, and thereby I shall free my son from being charged with them. Mr. Mayor parts with nothing at present but that money; except *the board*, which I should not be unwilling to give them, to enjoy the comfort of their society'—which it's reason he smart for if he will rob me altogether of them. . . .

'I thought fit to give you this account, desiring you to make such use as God shall direct you; and I doubt not you will do the part of a friend between two friends. I account myself one. I have heard you say Mr. Mayor was entirely so to you. What the good pleasure of God is I shall wait; there alone is rest.' He then adds, in a postscript:—

'I desire you to carry this business with all privacy. I beseech you to do so, as you love me. Let me entreat you not to lose a day herein, that I may know Mr. Mayor's mind; for I think I may be at leisure for a week to attend this business, to give and take satisfaction, from which perhaps I may be shut up afterwards by employment. I know thou art an idle fellow, but prithee neglect me not now; delay may be very inconvenient to me. I much rely upon you. Let me hear from you in two or three days. I confess the principal consideration as to me is the absolute settlement of the manor where he lives; which he would not do but conditionally in case they have a son, and but 3,000*l.* in case they have no son.'

From this extract it will be seen that Oliver was not a bad hand at making a matrimonial bargain for his son. The manor, 'unconditionally,' seems a very one-sided affair, especially so on Mr. Mayor's hypothesis of no son being born to inherit. Richard Cromwell, be it remembered, was all but a cipher in the family, and his antecedents and subsequent history have shown that Oliver was not far wrong in the low estimate he had formed of his son's amiable but unenergetic character. The 'two little wenches' were Mary and Frances Cromwell, at that time eleven and twelve years of age respectively. Early days, certainly, to be thinking of a provision for them.

Oliver evidently wanted, without saying as much, Norton to act as negotiator with Mayor in this delicate affair; but the 'idle fellow' seems to have been unequal to the office, for no more letters appear to have passed between them on the subject; nor was

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the matter settled until more than a year had passed, when, after much further correspondence, the following letter from Cromwell to Mr. Mayor brought the marriage contract to a satisfactory termination:—

'London: April 15, 1649.

'*For my worthy Friend, Richard Mayor, Esquire,* these—

SIR,—Your kinsman, Mr. Barton, and myself, repairing to the counsel for the perfecting of this business so much concerning us, did, upon Saturday this 15th of April, draw our counsel to a meeting; where, upon consideration had of my letter to yourself, expressing my consent to particulars which Mr. Barton brought to your counsel, Mr. Hales of Lincoln's Inn; upon the reading that which expresseth the way of your settling Hursley (the manor), your kinsman expressed a sense of yours contrary to the paper in my hand, as also to that under your hand of March 28, which was the same as mine as to that particular.

'In that which I myself am to do I know nothing of doubt, but do agree it all to your kinsman's satisfaction. Nor is there much material difference save in this. . . . . To settle an estate in fee-simple upon your daughter after your decease; which Mr. Barton affirms *not* to be your meaning, although he has not made this any objection; nor can the words bear it; nor have I anything more considerable in lieu of what I part with than this. And I have appealed to yours, or any counsel in England, whether it be not just and equal that I insist thereupon.

And this misunderstanding—if it be yours, as it is your kinsman's—put a stop to the business, so that our counsel could not proceed until your pleasure herein were known. Wherefore it was thought fit to desire Mr. Barton to have recourse to you to know your mind. . . . . Sir, I desire to know what commission your kinsman had to help this doubt by an expedient, who denied to have any; but did think it were better for you to part with some money and keep the power in your own hand, as to the land to dispose thereof as you should see cause. Whereupon an overture was made and himself and your counsel desired to draw it up; the effect whereof this enclosed paper contains. And although I should not like change of agreements, yet to show how much I desire the perfecting of this business if you like thereof (though this be far the worse bargain), I shall submit thereunto, your counsel thinking that things may be settled this way with more clearness and less intricacy. There is mention made of 900*l.* *per annum* to be reserved, but it comes to about 800*l.*; my lands in Glamorganshire being but little above 400*l.* per annum, and the other 400*l.* out of my manor in Gloucester and Monmouthshire. I wish a clear understanding may be between us; truly I would not willingly mistake. [So] desiring to wait on Providence in this business, I rest, Sir,

'Your affectionate friend and servant,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'

The 'business' slightly interrupted by the officious zeal of this 'kinsman' was, however, finally

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adjusted a few days later in Oliver's favour, and the marriage ceremony was solemnized on the May-day following at Cheshunt.

It has been endeavoured, by some writers, to show that the coolness between Cromwell and Fairfax, which subsequently took place, had already commenced. An effectual answer to such a statement is contained in the following extracts from a letter of Cromwell's to the general, written from London on March 7:—

'It has pleased God to raise me out of a dangerous sickness; and I do most willingly acknowledge that the Lord hath, in this visitation, exercised the bowels of a Father towards me. I received in myself the sentence of death, that I might learn to trust in Him that raiseth from the dead, and have no confidence in the flesh. It's a blessed thing to die daily; for what is there in this world to be accounted of! The best men, according to the flesh and things, are lighter than vanity. I find this only good—to love the Lord and His poor despised people, to do for them, and to be ready to suffer with them. . . .

'Sir, I must thankfully confess your favour in your last letter. I see I am not forgotten; and truly to be kept in your rememberance is very great satisfaction to me, for I can say, in the simplicity of my heart, I put a high and true value upon your love, which, when I forget, I shall cease to be a grateful and an honest man.'

It is noteworthy that, on the day this letter was written, the Parliament settled 1,680*l.* a year on Cromwell, out of the delinquent Marquis of Worcester's estate, and 5,000*l.* per annum on General Fairfax.

Cromwell, however, a fortnight later, disposed of his interest, in the following act of disinterested liberality:—

'*To the Honourable the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Affairs of Ireland sitting at Derby House. The Offer of Lieutenant-Colonel Cromwell for the Service of Ireland.*

'The two Houses having lately bestowed 1,680*l.* *per annum* upon me and my heirs out of the Earl of Worcester's estate—the necessity of affairs requiring assistance—I do hereby offer 1,000*l.* annually to be paid out of the rents of the same lands; that is to say, 500*l.* out of the next Michaelmas rent; and so on by the half-year for the space of five years, if the war in Ireland shall so long continue, or that I live so long; to be employed for the service of Ireland, as the Parliament shall please to appoint, provided the said yearly rent of 1,680*l.* become not to be suspended by war or other accident.

'And whereas there is an arrear of pay due to me whilst I was lieutenant-general unto the Earl of Manchester of about 1,500*l.* audited and stated; as also a great arrear due for about two years being governor of the Isle of Ely. I do hereby discharge the State from all or any claim to be made by me thereunto.'

The House responded to this munificence by passing unanimously the following vote:—

'That the House doth accept the free offer of Lieutenant-General Cromwell, testifying his zeal and good affection.'

CHAPTER XIII.

The Spring of 1648 and Gloomy Prospects of the Country—State of the Contending Parties—The Scots prepare for War—Their Ultimatum to the English Parliament—Rising of the Cavaliers—The Committee of Danger raise an Army to oppose the Scots and Royalists—Cromwell sent to oppose Colonel Poyer in Wales—The Siege of Pembroke Castle—Cromwell's Letters to the Speaker and to General Fairfax—Threatened Disturbances in London—Inactivity of Fairfax—Rising in Surrey—Further Addresses to the King forbidden by the Parliament—Presbyterian Designs—The Six Members restored—Revolt of the Fleet—Insurrection in Kent—Serious Difficulties the Parliament had to encounter—Fairfax roused at length into Action—Rendezvous of the Army on Blackheath—Success of the General in Kent and Surrey—Approach of the Scots' Army and Manifesto of the Duke of Hamilton—Lambert's spirited Reply—Interferences of the Scots, and unfortunate Consequences to His Majesty—Dilatory Proceedings of the Scots' General—Sir James Turner's Description of the March of the Scots towards Lancashire—English Forces under Cromwell leave Wales for the North—Ill-provisioned and destitute State of the Troops—Junction effected with Lambert in the Neighbourhood of Doncaster—The Scots' Army reaches Preston—Cromwell falls suddenly on Lambert's Troops—The Battle of Preston—Sir James Turner's Account of the Engagement—Cromwell's Narrative to the Speaker—Rejoicings in London—A Day of Thanksgiving ordered—Loss of Men in the two Armies—The Scots Retreat—The Duke of Hamilton gives himself up a Prisoner at Uttoxeter—Taken to Warwick Castle—Court-Martial held the Year following; is sentenced to death, and executed—Cromwell proceeds North in pursuit of Munroe and the Scots—His urgent Request for Money to the Committee at Derby House—Interesting Letter from Cromwell to Oliver St. John—Cromwell's successful Intercession on behalf of his Kinsman at Romsey—Pleads with General Fairfax for the Widow of Colonel Cowell—Colchester surrenders—Execution of the principal delinquent Defenders—Distress of the Inhabitants during the Siege—Hasty Retreat of Prince Rupert to Holland with the Revolted Ships—Junction of the two Armies under Cromwell and Lambert at Durham—Cromwell's Proclamation to the Scotch Nation—His Letters to the Committee of Estates sitting at Edinburgh, and the Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland—Divi-

sions among the Scots—Monroe's Forces opposed by several Regiments under General Lesley and the Earl of Leven—Cromwell's Letter to the Speaker—Arrives in Edinburgh—Sumptuous Entertainment—Success in Scotland and Departure for the South—Another Letter to the Speaker—Cromwell at Knottingly—His Interesting Letter to Hammond, the Governor of the Isle of Wight.

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THE spring of 1648 was ungenial and gloomy in the extreme. Nor was the weather alone discouraging. The political horizon had become overcast in every quarter.

From the Irish Sea to the German Ocean came forebodings of coming evils, dismally repeated, magnified, and distorted by every fresh messenger. Scotland, Ireland, Wales, sent out the note of alarm and defiance. The City stood aloof, or secretly encouraged the discontent in refusing loans, and by open sympathy with the Scottish Presbyterians. The Cavaliers were in high spirits at the approach of what appeared a national convulsion; whilst the King, at the Isle of Wight, silently abided his time, in the hope of a general rising in his favour.

The united hostility thus threatening the Parliament and the army, had achieved for them that which negotiation could never have accomplished. It had brought them together in real unison, to meet the coming danger. Separate, each must have fallen in turn; united, they were able to resist, counteract, and finally to triumph.

There were three points especially on which the Parliament had given umbrage to the Scots: their lukewarmness about the Covenant, their long delay in reference to overdue pecuniary claims, and the forcible detention of the King's person. When the

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agreement made at Carisbrook between the King and the Scots became known to the Parliament, it then became apparent that to trifle any longer with them by promises of payment was no longer practicable or safe. Accordingly, in January, the House of Commons declared its intention of paying the Scots, on February 3, the sum of 50,000*l.*, provided that amount could be obtained from the Goldsmiths' Company. Commissioners were despatched to Scotland conveying this intelligence, and also intimating the decision they had come to in reference to not holding any further intercourse with his Majesty. Among the reasons they assign for the latter, it is curious to notice how carefully and minutely every circumstance extending back for several years is dwelt upon. Sir John Eliot's imprisonment, the enforced loans, the 'cruel whippings,' 'slitting of noses,' mutilations of ears, brandings of cheeks, racks and pillories, excommunications, ecclesiastical innovations, advance of Popery by the Queen, and the charge of treason against members of Parliament by the King, are all insisted upon and recapitulated, in order to deter the Scots from forcibly interfering on behalf of his Majesty.

The Scots deferred for upwards of two months their reply to the Parliament commissioners. Meanwhile they proceeded to raise an army, and enlistments went on throughout that kingdom, although a protest against this aggressive act was entered by thirty-six Lords and Commoners of the Scots' Parliament. The commissioners took care to acquaint the two Houses of all that was passing, and

wrote word that great indignation prevailed at the 'imprisonment' of the King and the 'tolerating of sects' in England.

At length, towards the end of April, letters were received from the Parliament of Scotland containing their answer, wherein they require 'that his Majesty should be permitted to come to London; that reparation be made for his carrying away (from Holmby) by satisfaction from, or punishment of, those that did it; that the Presbyterian government be settled; that the army sectaries be punished and disbanded; the city of London to have all their privileges made good to them; the Covenant to be enjoined universally, and all members of Parliament who have faithfully served it to be restored.'

The reply of the Parliament to these arrogant terms exhibited the same want of firmness and decision which they had displayed throughout this trying period; and there can be no doubt that the turn affairs subsequently took in their favour was mainly, if not entirely, due to the genius, the enterprise, and the courage of Oliver Cromwell.

Shortly after the receipt of the foregoing message, the news came of the rising of the Cavaliers, who had seized on Berwick and Carlisle. It was then moved in the House that the seven northern counties should be put in a posture of defence, and the Scots informed that the Parliament agreed to keep the Covenant, and was ready to join with them upon the propositions sent to the King during his residence at Hampton Court.

Those members who had not yet taken the Cove-

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nant were now ordered to do so; and lastly, in direct opposition to their recent decision not to hold further intercourse with the King, they, at the bidding of the Scots' Parliament, resolved to present an address to his Majesty on the basis of the Hampton Court proposition.

Nothing, however, deterred the Scots from their warlike purpose. By a vote they decided on raising an army of 40,000 men, to invade England. The Kirk alone, to its credit be it said, attempted, though ineffectually, to resist this measure.

It now became evident that a serious war with Scotland was inevitable. The Committee of Danger sitting at Derby House, therefore, came to the determination of calling together a force of 40,000 men to meet the emergency. Wales had already risen in arms on the King's side, for the Welsh counties had all through shown a marked hostility towards the army and the Parliament. Wherever the former appeared, the inhabitants of the district deserted, taking with them to the mountains all their moveable property; the smiths left their forges, 'so that,' says one of the soldiers, 'if we were to offer forty shillings for a horse-shoe, or a place to make it, it is not to be had.' Wales, therefore, it was decided, at a council of war, held at head-quarters, should be the district in which military operations should at first commence; and Pembroke Castle—now held for the King by the ci-devant Parliamentary Colonel Poyer—the point of attack for Oliver Cromwell, who, with two regiments of horse, and three of foot soldiers, started at once for the field of action.

On reaching Gloucester, the pleasing intelligence reached him of Colonel Horton's victory, near Cardiff, over Langhern, the Royalist general, who, with 8,000 troops, had been defeated by 3,000 of the Parliament's forces already in that neighbourhood. Cromwell continued his march by way of Chepstow, where he left Colonel Ewer to attack the castle, and hastened on to Pembroke, arriving there the middle of May. He found the enemy strongly entrenched, with plenty of ammunition and forage. 1648

The siege commenced towards the end of May, but from the want of heavy ordnance the castle was not taken until July 11 following. Being situated in the centre of a wretchedly barren and desolate country, Cromwell had great difficulty in providing food for his troops. A month after the siege had been carried on, he wrote as follows to General, now Lord Fairfax:—

'The country since we sat down before this place have made two or three insurrections, and are ready to do it every day: so that, what with looking to them, and disposing our horse to that end, and to get us in provisions, without which we should starve, this country being so miserably exhausted and so poor, and we no money to buy victuals—indeed, whatever may be thought, it's a mercy we have been able to keep our men together in the midst of such necessity, the sustenance of the foot for most part being but bread and water. Our guns, through the unhappy accident at Berkley, not yet come to us; and, indeed, it was a very unhappy thing they were brought thither, the wind having been always so cross

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that since they were recovered from sinking they could not "come to us;" and this place not being to be had without fit instruments for battering, except by starving.'

On July 11 Cromwell wrote to the Speaker of the House of Commons, announcing the satisfactory termination of the siege, as follows :—

'The town and castle of Pembroke were rendered to me this day. . . . . What arms, ammunition, victual, ordnance, or other necessaries of war are in, I have not to certify you, the commissioners I sent in to receive the same not being yet returned, nor like suddenly to be; and I was unwilling to defer the giving you an account of this mercy for a day.

'The persons excepted are such as have formerly served you in a very good cause; but being now apostatized, I did rather make election of them than of those who had always been for the King, judging *their* iniquity double: because they have sinned against so much light, and against so many evidences of Divine Providence, going along with and prospering a just cause, in the management of which they themselves had a share.'

Meanwhile, during Cromwell's tedious siege of Pembroke, important events were taking place in other parts of the kingdom, where his presence was much required.

Reports were rife of a general rising in London in favour of the King. The committee, sitting at Derby House, had been informed that many thousands, under an oath of secrecy, were banded together to destroy the City and Parliament. Complaints also daily

reached Fairfax, now unfortunately rendered inactive by an attack of gout, of disturbances daily occurring in many counties, where the inhabitants were obliged to leave their homes and fly into the neighbouring towns and cities for protection. Petitions to Parliament—a sure sign of the growing discontent—came pouring in upon the distracted Commons. One from the lord mayor and aldermen of the City, asking for power over the militia, received an immediate acquiescence; and General Skippon had directions 'to encounter, kill, and slay all such as should be gathered to disturb the peace of Parliament or the City. But one petition of a more troublesome nature came from the neighbouring county of Surrey, accompanied by several hundred men on horseback, praying that the King might 'be restored with safety and honour, and permitted to come to Westminster for a personal treaty;' also, 'that the war now beginning might be prevented, free quarter suspended, and speed made for disbanding the army and the payment of the soldiers' arrears.'

The Lords, we are told, 'gave the petitioners a favourable answer, but the Commons gave none; whereupon some of the more boisterous fell to quarrelling 'with the soldiers in attendance, and came to blows, during which divers countrymen were killed, and the miller of Wandsworth was run through with a halbert.'

This petition was followed by another to the same purpose from the City, with somewhat better results; for, on June 30, the Lords agreed that the vote of January 3, forbidding any addresses to

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the King, should be null and void. Signs of relenting towards the King were also not wanting in the other House: for, on May 26, the Commons agreed to accept the Presbyterian government, according to his Majesty's offer, for, a term of three years; and they also consented to submit to a term of ten instead of twenty years control in reference to the militia.

Advantage was now taken of Cromwell's absence from Parliament to restore the six members who had been excluded; and, at the same time, a vote was agreed to that no mercy be shown towards all prisoners who might be taken captive and in arms against the Parliament.' Whilst these measures were being passed, a new and unexpected trouble arose. The fleet which lay in the Downs mutinied, and the commander, Admiral Rainsborough, forcibly sent on shore; the captains of most of the vessels being subject to the same treatment; whilst several of the revolted ships, with their crews, set sail for Holland. Some few, however, remained faithful; and, in their own words, declared 'for the King, the Parliament, and the Covenant.'

When the news of this revolt reached the Government, Rainsborough, who had never been popular with the navy, was superseded, and the Earl of Warwick chosen Lord High Admiral in his stead. Meanwhile the treatment the Surrey petitioners had received at the hands of the soldiers in Palace Yard gave rise to much local discontent, which shortly after their return home became apparent. A large body of armed men assembled on Blackheath, where they were joined by other discontented roughs and

malignants from London. All Kent now rose in insurrection. Rochester was seized by the insurgents, and news came that Cornwall was in open revolt. CHAP. XIII. 1648

Matters were getting serious with the Parliament; Fairfax lay ill with the gout; Cromwell was fretting impatiently before Pembroke, and consequently unable to afford them his invigorating presence and counsel. The Scots' army had invaded England, and the navy for the most part was in a state of revolt; whilst Kent, Essex, and Surrey were more or less in the hands of themalignants. Further inaction, therefore, on the part of the army could no longer be tolerated; and, gout or no gout, Fairfax must mount. Early in May he had been ordered to go northward. The middle of that month came, and he was still unable to move, the report being, 'The general is so ill of an extreme lameness that he cannot stir. By Friday it is hoped he will go to the northward.' The last week in May, however, found him on horseback, though still lame and reluctant.

There was, in truth, no longer the alacrity of former days to be observed in this general. Whether, now that he had succeeded to the title and honours of the peerage, or, what is more probable, that he had become cold in the cause of the Parliament, it is certain that from this period Fairfaix was no longer the efficient and energetic officer he had been. Be that as it may, the pressure put upon him overcame all other considerations, and resulted in a general rendezvous of the army, which took place on Hounslow Heath at the end of the month. From thence

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Fairfax, with part of the army, marched into Surrey, in order to dislodge the insurgents, who by this time had taken possession of Maidstone and Rochester. Once in the field, he seemed to forget his pain and disorder. Acting with his usual promptness and decision, he routed the malignants at the latter place, killing two hundred, whilst the remainder fled to Maidstone, followed quickly by the general, who again scattered them. The insurgents now made for Colchester, where, after sustaining a fierce and obstinate siege, they were at length finally overcome.

Whilst the two generals, the one before Pembroke Castle, the other before Colchester, were thus occupied in siege operations, the Scots' army meanwhile was leisurely marching into England.

The following letter from Cromwell to Fairfax, congratulating the latter on his successes, was written a week after the forces under Fairfax had commenced the siege of Colchester:—

'I rejoice much to hear of the blessing of God upon your Excellency's endeavours. I pray God that this nation and those that are over us and your Excellency, and all we that are under you, "may discern" what the mind of God may be in all this, and what our duty is. Surely it is not that the poor godly people of this kingdom should still be made the object of wrath and anger, nor that our God would have our necks under a yoke of bondage. For these things that have lately come to pass have been the wonderful works of God; breaking the rod of the oppressor, as in the day of Midian—not with garments much rolled in blood, but by the terror of the Lord,

who will yet save His people and confound His enemies as on that day. The Lord multiply His grace upon you, and bless you, and keep your heart upright: and then, though you be not conformable to the men of this world, nor to their wisdom, yet you shall be precious in the eyes of God, and He will be to you a horn and shield.'

Whilst the Parliamentary forces were thus occupied, as we have seen, advantage was taken of their absence by the Earl of Holland to raise the standard for the King. Collecting about a hundred horsemen from the neighbourhood of Kingston-on-Thames, he proceeded to Banstead Downs, and was there joined by the young Earl of Buckingham and his brother, Lord Francis Cavendish, bringing with them several hundred followers. From Banstead Downs they marched to Reigate: here they were met and successfully encountered by some forces under Major Gibbons, who had been sent in pursuit. In the struggle Lord Francis was killed, and the earl, with those who escaped, retreated into Hertfordshire, only to meet with a fresh and more fatal disaster; for meanwhile Fairfax, having heard of the rising, dispatched a party from Colchester, under Scroop, who came up to them unawares one night at St. Neot's, when they were completely routed, most of them being killed or taken prisoners. Lord Holland escaped, but was subsequently taken prisoner and sent to Warwick Castle, when he was brought to trial, found guilty, and executed.

The invasion of England—the first fruits of the clandestine agreement between the King and the

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Scots' commissioners at the Isle of Wight—was now an accomplished fact. The objects sought, as set forth in a letter from the Duke of Hamilton, the general of the Scottish army, to General Lambert, in command of the Parliamentary forces assembled at or near Carlisle, were as follows:—

That the Parliament of England had not given satisfaction to the desires of the people of Scotland; that he came with his army to settle religion, to maintain the Covenant, to deliver the King; to disband the army, and procure a solid peace and union between the two kingdoms and his Majesty's Government; finally, as he intended no hurt to him, or the kingdom, he therefore expected no opposition from him.

Lambert, in his reply, was equally brief and to the purpose: he said:—

As to not being satisfied with the Parliament, he had nothing to say; but as to his coming in a hostile way into England, he would oppose him to the utmost, and fight him and his army as traitors and enemies of the kingdom.

The reasons given by the Scots for their unwarrantable invasion of England, as set forth in this letter to Lambert, lacked one essential qualification—truth. Their real object was the establishment of Presbyterianism and the destruction of the Independents, which they purposed to themselves to accomplish by the restoration of the King and the subjugation of the English army, through and by the aid of their own forces united with the Cavaliers.

There was a remarkable fatality attending all the

efforts of the Scottish nation to serve his Majesty, and little could they have foreseen or anticipated the consequences they were unconsciously the means of causing. There can be no doubt that the King's liberty, and ultimately his life, was sacrificed through their injudicious advocacy and interference. Their nefarious monetary negotiations with the Parliament cost his Majesty his liberty; their secret and underhand treaty with him at Carisbrook Castle led to the renewal of the friendly compact between Westminster and the army; and their hostile invasion of England produced a few months hence the fatal catastrophe on the scaffold at Whitehall.

Hamilton's dispatch to Lambert was dated July 8, from Annan, on the western borders. He had brought from Scotland an army numbering upwards of 20,000 fighting-men; whilst Langdale, in Yorkshire, with 3,000 Royalist troops, awaited his arrival in order to form a junction. It is surprising, considering there was but a mere handful of Parliamentary troops under Lambert in the north to oppose so great a force, that the Scots' general did not push forward at once into the heart of the country; but this opportunity was neglected, and the advantage thrown away, by the want of that promptitude and decision often so conspicuously absent in all but great commanders. Instead, however, of doing this, and effectually disposing of Lambert's troops before Cromwell, who was hastening to his assistance, could come up, he contented himself with ravaging the country, plundering the inhabitants, and hunting out and robbing any unfortunate minister in possession of a

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Parliamentary incumbency, leaving his dwelling bare of every moveable article. In such like congenial occupations five important weeks were wasted ere the Scots' army had reached Preston, which had they so purposed might have been accomplished in as many days. A passing glimpse of the Scots' camp, during this march, is afforded in the following extract from a letter written by Sir James Turner, who was present with that army:—

'At Hornby, a day's march beyond Kendal, it was debated whether we should march into Lancashire, Cheshire, and the western counties, or if we should go into Yorkshire, and so put ourselves in the straight road to London, with a resolution to fight all who would oppose us? Calender was indifferent; Middleton was for Yorkshire, Baillie for Lancashire. When my opinion was asked, I was for Yorkshire; and for this reason only, that I understood Lancashire was a close county, full of ditches and hedges, which was a great advantage the English would have over our raw and undisciplined musketeers; the Parliament's army consisting of disciplined and well-trained soldiers and excellent firemen; while, on the other hand, Yorkshire was a more open country and full of heaths, where we might both make use of our horse and come sooner to push of pike with our foot. My lord duke was for Lancashire way; and it seems he had hopes that some forces would join with him in his march that way. I have, indeed, heard him say that he thought Lancashire his own if he came near it. Whatever the matter was, I never saw him tenacious in anything during the time of his com-

mand but in that. We chose to go that way, which led us to our ruin.

'Our march was much retarded by most rainy and tempestuous weather (the elements fighting against us), and by staying for country horses to carry our little ammunition. The vanguard was constantly given to Sir Marmaduke (Langdale) upon condition that he should furnish guides, pioneers for clearing the ways, and (which was more than both these) have good and certain intelligence of all the enemy's motions. But whether it was by our fault, or his neglect, want of intelligence helped to ruin us.'

Released at length from the protracted siege of Pembroke, Cromwell, having first despatched towards Chester 600 horse and dragoons in advance, wrote to Lambert, enjoining him not to engage the enemy until he could come up. He followed with all his available force a few days after. The Bristol merchants had, through the exertions of Hugh Peters, been induced to provide the army with a supply of beer, linen, &c., for the wounded, and other stores, for which says one, writing from head-quarters, 'we acknowledge with thankful hearts to God and are much encouraged thereby, in this our northern expedition.' Shoeless and stockingless, they are heard of 'as a poor and despised partie' at Warwick, on July 31, and at Coventry, where 2,500 pairs of stockings had been got together. Leicester furnished shoes on August 3, and at the latter town Cromwell left behind Poyer and other prisoners, under the charge of brave Mrs. Hutchinson, the colonel her husband being otherwise engaged; but matters in

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Leicester town do not appear to have passed off very satisfactorily, for one who was with Cromwell's forces writes:—

'We grieve for that famous city of Leicester, whom we never desired to insult, nor marched we through with any such intent; and notwithstanding all their high and strange expressions against us who have been instrumental of more good to them than to all the kingdom, and received the least from them. . . .

'Lord Gray's activity is commended in these parts, he having got together 4,000 in the field.'

On or about August 9 Cromwell came up to Lambert's forces in the neighbourhood of Doncaster. Their united strength was under 12,000 men; but any deficiency in point of numbers was more than compensated by bravery and discipline. 'After a tedious and weary march of much endurance and difficulty, and passing through unseasonable weather and extreme hardness of ways,' writes one in the Parliament army: 'The Lieutenant-General Cromwell came on Monday night, the 14th, to Skipton—within ken of the enemy; Tuesday to Gisborn; Wednesday we marched to Stronghurst; Thursday, very early, our army marched towards Preston, whither the enemy lay.'

The Duke of Hamilton, with his army in very loose order, and scattered over the country, had reached Preston the previous evening, ignorant of the vicinity of Cromwell. Langdale, however, was the first to feel the force of his presence, for the 'forlorn hope' which Cromwell sent out encountered him at Langridge Chapel. Hodgson, who commanded this party,

has given a graphic description of Oliver's promptness in issuing orders. 'We were,' says Hodgson, 'drawn up by the moor side, when the general comes to us and orders us to march. We, not having half our men, came [to him] and desired a little patience; [but] he gives out the word, "March!"' Another Parliamentary officer who was present has continued the account of what followed:—

'Our forlorn hope engaged them successfully,' says this writer. 'As soon as the narrowness of the lanes and passages would permit, our infantry came up—the van of foot led by Colonel Bright's, the Lord General's, and the Lancashire regiments. The battle waxed hot for two hours. They had lined the hedges and lanes so thick that our horse and foot were exceedingly galled; at length our men forced them through Preston, the way strewed with their arms, baggage, and provisions.'

Sir James Turner's account of this affair, interesting as coming from the Royalist side, is as follows:—

'Cromwell falls on Sir Marmaduke's flank, who imagined that it was one Colonel Ashton, who had got together 3,000 men to oppose us, because we came out of Scotland without the General Assembly's permission. While Sir Marmaduke disputes the matter, Baillie, by the duke's order, marches to Ribble Bridge, and passes it with all the foot except two brigades. This was two miles from Preston. By my lord duke's command, I had sent some ammunition and men to Sir Marmaduke's assistance; but to no purpose, for Cromwell prevailed, so that our English first retired and then fled. It must be

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remembered that the night before this sad encounter, Earl Calendar and Middleton were gone to Wigan, eight miles from thence, with a considerable part of the cavalry. Calendar was come back, and was with the duke, and so was I; but upon the rout of Sir Marmaduke's people Calendar got away to Ribble, where he arrived safely by a miracle as I think; for the enemy was between the bridge and us, and had killed or taken most part of our two brigades of foot.

'The duke, with his guard of horse, Sir Marmaduke, with many officers—among others myself—got into Preston town, with intention to pass a ford below it, though at that time not rideable. At the entry of the town the enemy pursued us hard. The duke faced about, and put two troops of them to a retreat; but so soon as we turned from them, they again turned upon us. The duke, facing the second time, charged them, which succeeded well. Being pursued the third time, my lord duke cried to charge once more for King Charles! One trooper refusing, he beat him with his sword. At that charge we put the enemy so far behind us that he could not so soon overtake us again. Then Sir Marmaduke and I entreated the duke to hasten to his army; and truly, here he showed as much personal valour as any man could be capable of. We swam the Ribble river, and so got to the place where Lieutenant-General Baillie had advantageously lodged the foot on the top of a hill, among very fencible enclosures.

'After Calendar came to the infantry he had sent 600 musketeers to defend Ribble Bridge. Very un-

advisedly; for the way Cromwell had to go to it was a descent from a hill that commanded all the champaign, which was about an English quarter of a mile in length between the bridge and that hill where our foot were lodged. So that our musketeers, having no shelter, were forced to receive all the musket-shot of Cromwell's infantry, which was secure within thick hedges, and after the loss of many men were forced to run back to our foot. Here Claud Hamilton, the duke's lieutenant-colonel, had his arm broken with a musket bullet.

'The bridge of Ribble being lost, the duke called all the colonels together on horseback to advise what was next to be done. We had no choice but one of two: either stay, and maintain our ground till Middleton (who was sent for) came back with his cavalry; or else march away that night and find him out. Calendar would needs speak first, whereas by the custom of war he should have told his opinion last; and it was, to march away that night so soon as it was dark. This was seconded by all the rest, except by Lieutenant-General Baillie and myself. For all the arguments we used—as, the impossibility of a safe retreat from an enemy so powerful of horse, in so very foul weather and extremely deep ways; our soldiers exceedingly wet, weary, and hungry; the inevitable loss of all our ammunition—could not move my lord duke, by his authority, to contradict the shameful resolution taken by the main part of his officers.

'After that drumless march was resolved on, and but few horse appointed to stay in rear of the foot, I

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enquired what should become of our unfortunate ammunition, since forward with us we could not get it? It was not thought fit to blow it up that night, lest thereby the enemy should know of our retreat, or rather flight. I was of that opinion, too, but for another reason; for we could not have blown it up then without a visible mischief to ourselves, being so near it. It was ordered it should be done three hours after our departure, by a train; but that being neglected, Cromwell got it all.

'Next morning we appeared at Wigan Moor, half our number less than we were—most of the faint and weary soldiers having lagged behind, whom we never saw again. Lieutenant-General Middleton had missed us—such excellent order was in the army—for he came by *another* way to Ribble Bridge. It was to be wished he had still stayed with us! He, not finding us there, followed our track; but was himself hotly pursued by Cromwell's horse, with whom he skirmished the whole way till he came within a mile of us.'

Thus far from the Cavalier side. Let us now hear Cromwell's version, as detailed to the Speaker in a letter, dated Warrington, August 20:—

'Sir,—I have sent up this gentleman (Major Berry) to give you an account of the great and good hand of God towards you, in the late victory obtained against the enemy in these parts.

'After the conjunction of that party which I brought with me out of Wales with the northern forces about Knaresborough and Wetherby, hearing that the enemy was advanced with their army into

Lancashire, we marched the next day to Otley, . . . and on the 14th to Skipton; the 15th to Gisburne; the 16th to Hodder Bridge, over Ribble, and there held a council of war. . . . CHAP. XIII. 1648

'It was thought that to engage the enemy to fight was our business, . . . and it was resolved we should march over the bridge; which accordingly we did, and that night quartered the whole army in the field by Stonyhurst Hall, a place nine miles distant from Preston. Very early the next morning we marched towards Preston: having intelligence that the enemy was drawing together thereabouts, from all his out-quarters, we drew out a forlorn of about 200 horse and 400 foot, commanded by Major Smithson, the foot by Major Pownal. Our forlorn of horse marched within a mile where the enemy was drawn up, in the enclosed grounds by Preston on that side next us; and there, upon a moor, about half a mile distant from the enemy's army, met with their scouts and outguard, and did behave themselves with that valour and courage as made their guards to quit their ground; and took divers prisoners, holding this dispute with them until our forlorn of foot came up for their justification; and by these we had opportunity to bring up our whole army.

'So soon as our foot and horse came up, we resolved that night to engage them if we could; and, therefore, advancing with our forlorn, and putting the rest of our army into as good a posture as the ground would bear (which was totally inconvenient to our horse, being all enclosure and miry ground), we pressed upon them. . . . .

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'In all places, the enemy were forced from their ground after four hours' dispute—until we came to the town, into which four troops of my own regiment first entered; and being well seconded by Colonel Harrison's regiment, charged the enemy in the town and cleared the street.

'There came no band of your foot to fight that day but did it with incredible valour and resolution, among which Colonel Bright's, my Lord General's, Lieutenant-Colonel Reade's, and Colonel Ashton's, had the greatest work; they often coming to push of pike and to close firing, and always making the enemy to recoil. And, indeed, I must needs say, God was as much seen in the valour of the officers and soldiers of these before-mentioned as in any action that hath been performed; the enemy making, though he was still worsted, very stiff and sturdy resistance. . . . At the last, the enemy was put into disorder, many men slain, many prisoners taken. The duke, with most of the Scots, horse and foot, retreated over the bridge, where, after a very hot dispute, they were beaten from the bridge over Darwen, and a few houses there, the enemy being driven up within musket shot of us where we lay that night, we not being able to attempt further upon the enemy, the night preventing us. In this posture did we and the enemy lie most part of that night. Upon entering the town many of the enemy's horse fled towards Lancaster; in the chase of whom went divers of our horse, who pursued them near ten miles, and had execution of them, and took about 500 horse, and many prisoners. We possessed in this fight very much of the enemy's ammunition;

I believe they lost 4,000 or 5,000 arms. The number of the slain we judge to be about 1,000; the prisoners we took were about 4,000.

'In the night, the duke was drawing off his army towards Wigan: we were so wearied with the dispute that we did not so well attend the enemy's going off as might have been, by means whereof the enemy was gotten at least three miles with his rear, before ours got to them. . . .

'The enemy marched away 7,000 or 8,000 foot, and about 4,000 horse; we followed him with about 3,000 foot and about 2,500 horse and dragoons; and by this prosecution, that worthy gentleman, Colonel Thornhaugh, pressing too boldly, was slain, being run into the body and thigh and head by the enemy's lancers. And give me leave to say, he was a man as faithful and gallant in your service as any; and one who often heretofore lost blood in your quarrel, and now his last. He hath left some behind him to inherit a father's honour; and a sad widow—both now the interest of the Commonwealth.

'Our horse still prosecuted the enemy, killing and taking divers all the way. At last the enemy drew up within three miles of Wigan, and by that time our army was come up they drew off again, and recovered Wigan before we could attempt anything upon them. We lay that night in the field close by the enemy; being very dirty, and weary, and having marched twelve miles of such ground as I never rode in all my life, the day being very wet. We had some skirmishing that night near the town, where we took General Van Druske and a colonel, and killed some

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principal officers, and took about 100 prisoners; where I also received a letter from Duke Hamilton for civil usage towards his kinsman, Colonel Hamilton, whom he left wounded there. We took also Colonel Hurry and Lieutenant-Colonel Innes, some time in your service. The next morning the enemy marched towards Warrington, and we had the heels of them. The town of Wigan, a great poor town and very malignant, were plundered to their skins by them.

'We could not engage the enemy until we came within three miles of Warrington, and there the enemy made a stand at a place near Winwick. We held them in some dispute till our army came up, they maintaining the pass with great resolution for many hours—ours and theirs coming to push of pike and very close charges—which forced us to give ground; but our men—by the blessing of God—quickly recovered it, and charging very home upon them, beat them from their standing; where we killed about 1,000 of them, and took, as we believe, about 2,000 prisoners; and prosecuted them home to Warrington town, where they possessed the bridge, which had a strong barricade, and a work upon it formerly made very defensive. As soon as we came thither I received a message from General Baillie, desiring some capitulation, to which I yielded. Considering the strength of the pass, and that I could not go over the river within ten miles of Warrington with the army, I gave them these terms: That he should surrender himself and all his officers and soldiers prisoners of war, with all his arms, ammunition, and horses to me; I giving quarter for life, and promising civil usage.

Which accordingly is done, and the commissioners deputed by me have received all the arms and ammunition, which will be, as they tell me, about 4,000 complete arms, and as many prisoners; and thus you have their infantry totally ruined. What colonels and officers are with General Baillie I have not yet received the list.'

'The duke is marching with his remaining horse, which are about 3,000, towards Nantwich, where the gentlemen of the [district] have taken about 500 of them, of which they sent me word this day. The country will scarce suffer any of my men to pass, except they have my hand-writing telling them they are not Scots. They bring in and kill divers of them (the Scots) as they light upon them. Most of the nobility of Scotland are with the duke. If I had 1,000 horse that could but trot thirty miles, I should not doubt but to give a very good account of them; but truly, we are so harassed and haggled out in this business, that we are not able to do more than walk an easy pace after them.

'I hear Monroe is about Cumberland, with the horse that ran away. . . . I have left Colonel Ashton's three regiments of foot, with seven troops of horse, at Preston, and ordered Colonel Scroop, with five troops of horse and two troops of dragoons, with two regiments of foot (Colonel Lascelles's and Colonel Wastell's) to embody with them, and have ordered them to put their prisoners to the sword if the Scots shall presume to advance upon them, because they cannot bring them off with security.

'Thus you have a narrative of the particulars of

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the success which God hath given you; which I could hardly at this time have done, considering the multiplicity of business, but truly, when I was once engaged in it, I could hardly tell how to say less, there being so much of God in it; and I am not willing to say more, lest there should seem to be any of man. Only give me leave to add one word, showing the disparity of forces, that so you may see, and all the world acknowledge, the great hand of God in this business. The Scots' army could not be less than 12,000 effective foot, well armed, and 5,000 horse; Langdale not less than 2,500 foot and 1,500 horse; in all, 21,000; and truly very few of their foot but were as well armed, if not better than yours, and at divers disputes did fight two or three hours before they would quit their ground. Yours were about 2,500 horse and dragoons of your old army; about 4,000 foot of your old army; also about 1,600 Lancashire foot, and about 500 Lancashire horse; in all, about 8,600. You see, by computation, about 2,000 of the enemy slain, betwixt 8,000 and 9,000 prisoners, besides what are lurking in hedges and private places, which the country [people] daily bring in or destroy.

'Surely, Sir, this is nothing but the hand of God; and wherever anything in this world is exalted, or exalts itself, God will pull it down; for this is the day wherein He alone will be exalted. It is not fit for me to give advice, nor to say a word what use you should make of this; more than to pray you, and all that acknowledge God, that they would exalt Him, and not hate His people, who are the apple of

His eye, and for whom even kings shall be reproved; and that you would take courage to do the work of the Lord, in fulfilling the end of your magistracy, in seeking the peace and welfare of this land—that all that will live peaceably may have countenance from you, and they that are incapable and will not leave troubling the land may speedily be destroyed out of the land. And if you take courage in this, God will have glory, and the land will have happiness by you in despite of all your enemies; which shall be the prayer of

'Your most humble and faithful servant,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.

'*Postscript.*—We have not, in all this, lost a considerable officer but Colonel Thornhaugh, and not many soldiers, considering the service; but many are wounded, and our horse much wearied. I humbly crave that some course may be taken to dispose of the prisoners. The trouble and extreme charge of the country where they lie is more than the danger of their escape. I think they would not go home if they might, without a convoy; they are so fearful of the country, from whom they have deserved so ill. Ten men will keep a thousand from running away.'

Great were the rejoicings, as might be expected, when the news of the victory reached London, three days later. The House of Commons ordered 200*l.* to be bestowed on Major Berry, and 100*l.* on Edward Sexby, the messengers who brought 'the very good news of the very great success obtained by the mercy of God against the whole Scots' army in Lancashire.'

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A day of thanksgiving was also appointed to be observed throughout the kingdom. Cromwell's loss, in the three days' fighting, he estimated at 100 slain; the number wounded he does not mention, but adds, 'there were many.'

The enemy, broken and divided, yet not entirely dispersed, required all the energy Cromwell could put forth. Lambert was despatched with 2,000 horse and dragoons, and 1,400 foot, in pursuit of Hamilton, who retreated southward, whilst he himself went in search of Monroe, who had taken a northerly direction.

Five days later, namely, August 25, the duke gave himself up a prisoner at Uttoxeter, having left his infantry, or what there was of it remaining, in Cheshire, whither he had wandered up and down, losing upwards of 1,000, principally by desertion. Turner gives a graphic account of the distracted general in his extremity. 'Very ill,' he says, 'and unable to march, quarrelling with his officers.' 'At supper high words passed between my lord duke and Calendar the night before, each blaming the other for the misfortune and miscarriage of the affairs.'

The poor unfortunate duke was carried a prisoner to Warwick Castle; there he remained until the following year, when he was tried by court-martial, and sentenced to death as an English peer in arms against the Parliament; which sentence was carried into execution March 9, 1649.

Cromwell found it necessary, before moving far into the north, in pursuit of Monroe, to strengthen

his slender forces; he therefore awaited the return of Lambert's troops. Meanwhile, the northern counties were subject to the most cruel exactions by the retreating Scots. Whatever could not be taken away or consumed was destroyed; the women were stripped, we are told, of their 'hair laces,' and otherwise ill-treated. Cromwell wrote earnestly to the Derby House committee for money and soldiers.

'I submit to your lordships,' he says, in a letter dated August 23, 'whether you will think fit or no to recruit our loss. We have but five poor regiments of foot, and our horse so exceedingly battered, as I never saw them in all my life.' As to money, they were in that matter, if possible, in a worse plight. 'I offer it to your lordships,' he continues, 'that money may be had to pay the foot and horse. Some of those that are here seventy days before I marched from Windsor into Wales (early in January) have not had any pay; and amongst the horse, my own regiment and some others are much behind. . . . Our foot want clothes, shoes, and stockings; these ways have shattered them all to pieces.'

It is interesting to notice, that although surrounded by cares and anxieties he could yet find time for the occupation of his thoughts and pen on more congenial subjects. To his most intimate friends, those at least who best understood him, he opened his heart; and it was a relief for the moment to escape from the turmoil of war to dwell upon the signal deliverance he had just experienced.

Glimpses of Cromwell's inner life, at this period, are afforded in his correspondence with Lord Wharton

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and Oliver St. John, from which a few extracts may not be out of place; prefacing, however, by way of explanation, that it was the habit of the Puritans (and of Oliver in particular) to apply to their own circumstances passages of prophetic scripture which primarily applied only to the Lord Jesus Christ or to the Jewish dispensation. This will be seen in what follows, written to his friend Oliver St. John, from Knaresborough, September 1:—

'I can say nothing, but surely the Lord our God is a great and glorious God. He only is worthy to be feared and trusted, and His appearances particularly to be waited for. He will not fail His people. Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord. . . . Let us all be not careful what men will make of these actings. They will, they shall, fulfil the good pleasure of God; and we shall serve our generations. Our rest we expect elsewhere; that will be durable. Care we not for to-morrow, nor for anything.

'This scripture hath been of great stay to me: read Isaiah viii. 10, 11, 14; read all the chapter.'

The particular verses referred to, indeed the whole chapter, Oliver was very fond of. We here insert them:—

Take counsel together, and it shall come to nought; speak the word, and it shall not stand: for God *is* with us.

For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people.

And he shall be for a sanctuary; but for a stone of stumbling and for a rock of offence to both the houses of Israel, for a gin and for a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem.

What follows was written a day later to Lord Wharton, a zealous Puritan:—

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'You know how untoward I am at this business of writing: yet a word. I beseech the Lord make us sensible of this great mercy here, which surely was much more than the House expresseth. I trust [in] the goodness of our God to have time and opportunity to speak to you of it face to face. When we think of our God, what are we? Oh, His mercy to the whole society of saints—despised, jeered saints! Let them mock on. Would we were all saints. The best of us, God knows, are poor weak saints—yet saints, if not sheep, yet lambs, and must be fed. We have daily (spiritual) bread, and shall have it, in despite of all enemies. There's enough in our Father's house, and He dispenseth it. I think, through these outward mercies, as we call them, faith, patience, love, hope, are exercised and perfected—yea, Christ formed, and grows to a perfect man within us. I know not well how to distinguish; the difference is only in the subject; to a worldly man they are outward, to a saint, Christian [within]; but I dispute not. . . .'

Delinquents' estates being forfeited, became the property of the nation, and, as such, were either sold or compounded for. Some were reserved and given as a security to the corporation of London for advances to pay the army; in most cases, however, they were retained by the owners, who submitted to heavy fines in lieu of confiscation, provided always that the freeholder had not fled the country or been outlawed. Among the latter class was Cromwell's uncle, Sir Oliver, down at Ramsay, a staunch old Royalist, as were all his branch of the family. An ordinance which passed for 'divers composition of delinquents' estates'

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about this time, gave Oliver an opportunity of doing a good turn to his kinsman, for he used his influence so successfully with the committee that the fine was remitted, we are told, 'for the lieutenant-general's sake.'

The widows of poor soldiers were often equally indebted to him for his intercessions on their behalf; and whatever was the pressure of engagements, his influence was never withheld, and his ear was ever open to their sufferings. Whilst at Northallerton, in pursuit of the retreating Scots, the widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Cowell, who had been killed at Preston fight, came soliciting his aid. Cromwell wrote as follows to General Fairfax, on her behalf:—

'Since we lost Lieutenant-Colonel Cowell, his wife came to me near Northallerton, much lamenting her loss and the sad condition she and her children were left in.

'He was an honest, worthy man. He spent himself in your and the kingdom's service. He, being a great trader in London, deserted it to serve the kingdom. He lost much monies to the State, and I believe few outdid him. He had a great arrear due to him. He left a wife and three small children but meanly provided for. Upon his death-bed he commended this desire to me, that I should befriend his to the Parliament, or to your Excellency. His wife will attend you for letters to the Parliament, which I beseech you to take into a tender consideration.'

It is satisfactory to be able to add that the application resulted in the payment of her husband's arrears.

The siege of Colchester terminated at length, on

August 28, after a most obstinate defence, the enemy surrendering at discretion. The principal delinquents found in the garrison, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, were shot on the spot. Lord Capel, another of the prisoners, was subsequently tried at Westminster, found guilty, and executed.

After the surrender, Fairfax removed his head-quarters to Bury St. Edmunds. The severity of these sentences was greatly provoked by the cruelty of the Cavalier defenders to the poor women who were left in the town. When food became scarce, they complained to the governor, who told them it was useless to come to him till horseflesh was two shillings a pound: their food was reduced to starch, currants and sugar. The soldier's rations meanwhile consisted of three penny loaves only, one ounce of meat, and a modicum of water daily. At length the women were forcibly ejected out of the town, and came, to the number of 500 at one time, in the direction of Colonel Rainsford's quarters of the Parliamentary army, who, in order to prevent their approach, fired blank cartridge over their heads. This, however, not succeeding, the soldiers were told to threaten to strip them, which had the desired effect, and they retreated to the town walls again; but the gates were kept closed, and they were compelled to remain outside, until Fairfax sent a message of remonstrance, accompanied by a threat, that 'the blood of these women he would require and requite at their hands.' They were then re-admitted into the town.

Cromwell's victory afforded great relief to the restricted commerce of the country, for Prince

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Rupert, with the fleet of revolted ships, who had been occupied for some weeks in ravaging the eastern coast, plundering vessels laden with butter and cheese, on learning the defeat at Preston, fled with his ships hastily to Holland, and troubled the coast of England no more.

Agreeably to the instructions Cromwell received from the committee of Lords and Commons at Derby House, that he should 'prosecute the remaining party in the north, and not leave any of them, wheresoever they go, to be a beginning of a new army,' early in September pushed on his forces in pursuit, and finding the enemy bent on retreating to Scotland, he issued the following proclamation from Durham, on the 8th of that month:—

'*Declaration.*

'Whereas the Scottish army, under the command of James, Duke of Hamilton, which lately invaded this nation of England is, by the blessing of God upon the Parliament's forces, defeated and overthrown, and some thousands of their officers and soldiers are prisoners in our hands; so that by reason of their great number, and want of sufficient guard and watches to keep them so carefully as need requires (the army being employed upon other duty and service of the kingdom) divers may escape away; and many, both since, and upon the pursuit, do lie in private places in the country.

'I thought it very just and necessary to give notice to all, and accordingly do declare, That if any Scottishman, officers or soldiers, lately members of the

said Scottish army and taken, or escaped, in or since the late fight and pursuit, shall be found straggling in the countries, or running away from the places assigned them to remain in till the pleasure of the Parliament, or of his Excellency the Lord General be known, it will be accounted a very good and acceptable service to the country and kingdom of England, for any person or persons to take and apprehend all such Scottishmen; and to carry them to any officer having the charge of such prisoners; or, in defect of such officer, to the committee or governor of the next garrison, for the Parliament within the county where they shall be so taken; there to be secured and kept in prison, as shall be found most convenient.

'And the said committee, officers, or governor respectively, are desired to secure such of the said prisoners as shall be so apprehended and brought unto them accordingly. And if any of the said Scottish officers or soldiers shall make resistance, and refuse to be taken or render themselves, all such persons well-affected to the Parliament and kingdom of England, may and are desired to fall upon, fight with, and slay such refusers; but if the said prisoners shall continue and remain within the places and guards assigned for the keeping of them, that then no violence, wrong, nor injury be offered to them by any means.

'Provided also, and special care is to be taken, that no Scottishman residing within this kingdom, and not having been a member of the said army, and also, that none such of the said Scottish prisoners as shall

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have liberty given them, and sufficient passes to go to any place appointed, may be interrupted or troubled. Hereby,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.

'Durham: September 8, 1648.'

A week later the Parliamentary army, now joined by the forces under Lambert, marched in the direction of Berwick, whither Lambert was despatched with a summons for the town to surrender. The district through which the army marched was found desolate and all but deserted. 'We find no bread in the country,' wrote Cromwell to the Speaker, 'but we shall have enough biscuit from Newcastle to last until the new corn now upon the ground is ready.' The summons to surrender being disregarded, Cromwell wrote to the committee of estates for the kingdom of Scotland at Edinburgh, on September 16, the following letter:—

'What I demand of you is:—The restitution of the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle into my hands, for the use of the Parliament and kingdom of England. If you deny me herein, I must make our appeal to God; and call upon Him for assistance in what way He shall direct us; wherein we are and shall be, so far from seeking the harm of the well-affected people of the kingdom of Scotland, that we profess as before the Lord; that we shall use our endeavours to the utmost that the trouble may fall upon the contrivers and authors of this breach, and not upon the poor innocent people, who have been led and compelled into this action, as many poor souls now prisoners to us confess.'

Another epistle was addressed, a day or two later, to the Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland, who at that time was at the head of the friendly Kirk party, and opposed to the Hamilton faction, in which he remarks:—

'We have had a sight of your instructions concerning the treaty between your lordships and the enemy (the Monroe Hamilton party) wherein your care of the interest of this kingdom for the delivery of the towns unjustly taken from them appears. By which also we understand the posture you are in to oppose the enemies of welfare and the peace of both kingdoms, for which we bless God for his goodness to you; and rejoice to see the power of the kingdom of Scotland in a hopeful way to be invested in the hands of those who we trust are taught of God to seek His honour, and the comfort of his people.'

It is next to impossible to give verbatim what follows without encumbering the meaning; for Oliver's composition is so overladen with reasons for every step, past, present, and future, and the sentences are drawn to such unconscionable lengths as often to bewilder the reader; but the purport of it all may be condensed in a few words as intimating, in a friendly manner, that, all things considered—

'We have thought fit . . . . to advance into Scotland with our army.'

Before marching over the Border, strict injunctions were laid on the soldiers to avoid plunder or violence.

'If any officer or soldier under my command shall take or demand any money'—ran the proclamation—

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'or shall violently take any horses, goods, or victuals, without order; or shall abuse the people in any sort, he shall be tried by a council of war; and the said person so offending shall be punished, according to the articles of war, made for the government of the army: which punishment is death.'

There appears to have been some necessity for this warning proclamation, for, a day or two later, Cromwell wrote to the committee of estates in Scotland, regretting that notwithstanding all precautions to the contrary some violence had been already offered. He says:—

'We perceive that there was, upon our advance to the Borders, a very disorderly carriage of some horse; who, without order, did steal over the Tweed and plundered some places; since that, some stragglers have been alike faulty; to the wrong of the inhabitants, and to our very great grief of heart.

'I have been as diligent as I can to find out the men that have done the wrong, and I am still in the [or about the] discovery thereof; and I trust there shall be nothing wanting on my part that may testify how much we abhor such things. I cannot find the facts to lie upon the regiments of this army, but upon some of the northern horse, who have not been under our discipline and government until we came into these parts. I have commanded those forces away back again into England, and I hope the exemplarity of justice will testify for us our great detestation of that action.'

Considering the wretched and scanty supply of provisions served out to the army, and the impoverished

state of Oliver's exchequer, it is not surprising that the soldiers were sometimes driven to resort to free quarters when on their route. There was, however, fortunately no fighting necessary for Oliver's men to be done [north of the Tweed], the rapidity of his movements disconcerting all manœuvres on the part of the Scots; whilst Monroe's forces, now over the northern Border, joined with those of Lord Lanark's, opposed by several Scottish regiments favourable to the Parliament, under the Earl of Leven and General Lesley. Cromwell, in a letter to the Speaker, gives an interesting and succinct account of affairs in the north, as follows:—

'Berwick: October 2, 1648.

'*To the Honourable William Lenthall.*

'The two [Scottish] armies being drawn up, the one under Lanark and Monroe at Stirling, and the other under the Earl of Leven and Lieutenant-General Lesley, betwixt that and Edinburgh; the heads of these two armies being upon treaties concerning their own affairs; and I, having given, as I hoped, sufficient satisfaction concerning the justice of your cause, and the clearness of my intention in entering that kingdom, did, upon Thursday, September 21, and two days before, the Tweed being fordable, march over Tweed, at Norham, into Scotland, with four regiments of horse, some dragoons, and six regiments of foot; and there quartered, my head-quarters being at the Lord Mordington's house. Where, hearing that the Marquis of Argyle, the Lord Elcho, and some others, were coming to me from the committee of estates,

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assembled at Edinburgh, I went, on Friday, September 22, some part of the way to wait upon his lordship, who, when he was come to his quarters, delivered me a letter, signed by the Lord Chancellor, by warrant of the committee of estates. . . .

'The next day it was resolved that the command of the committee to the Governor of Berwick, for rendering the town of Berwick, should be sent to him by the Lord Elcho and Colonel Scot. Which accordingly was done. But he, pretending that he had not received the command of that place from those hands that now demanded it of him, desired liberty to send to the Earl of Lanark; engaging himself *then* to give his positive answer. Whilst these things were transacting, I ordered Major-General Lambert to march towards Edinburgh with six regiments of horse and a regiment of dragoons. Who accordingly did so, and quartered in East Lothian, within six miles of Edinburgh: the foot lying in his rear at Copperspath and thereabouts.

'Upon Friday, September 29, came an order from the Earl of Lanark and divers lords of his party, requiring the governor to march out of that town, which accordingly he did, on Saturday, the last of September, at which time I entered; and have placed a garrison there for your use. . . .

'I have also received an order for Carlisle, and have sent Colonel Bright, with horse and foot, to receive it . . . . there having been a treaty and an agreement betwixt the two parties in Scotland, to disband all forces, except fifteen hundred horse and foot, under the Earl of Leven, which are to be kept to *see* all remaining forces disbanded.'

The way being clear for an amicable adjustment, Cromwell marched into Edinburgh the day following, where he was received with great marks of distinction by the Lord Provost, and the inhabitants. A sumptuous banquet was prepared for him at the castle, Lord Argyle and the principal Scottish nobility being present; and during his stay, the Lord Provost entertained him with much hospitality, all charges being defrayed by the city, Moray House, in the Canongate, belonging to the Earl of Moray, being set apart for his occupation.

Leaving Lambert, with two regiments of horse, to keep in check the malignants, Cromwell, on the following Saturday, left Edinburgh. 'At our departure,' wrote one who was present, 'many pieces of ordnance and a volley of small shot was given us from the castle, and some lords convoying us out of the city, so we parted.' Writing from Dalhousie, on the 9th, to the Speaker, Cromwell gives an interesting summary of his proceedings in Scotland, and concludes thus:—

'Having proceeded thus far as a soldier, and I trust by the blessing of God, not to your disservice; and having laid the business before you, I pray God direct you to do further as may be for His glory, the good of the nation wherewith you are intrusted, and the comfort and the encouragement of the saints of God in both kingdoms and all the world over. I do think the affairs of Scotland are in a thriving pasture, as to the interest of honest men: and [Scotland is] like to be a better neighbour to you now than when the great pretenders to the Covenant and religion and

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treaties, I mean Duke Hamilton, the Earls of Lauderdale, Traquair, Carnegy, and other confederates, had the power in their hands. I say that that party, through the treachery of some in England, had not only endangered the whole State and kingdom of England; but also brought Scotland into such a condition as that no honest man—who had the fear of God, or a conscience of religion—the just ends of the covenant and treaties, could have a being in that kingdom. But God, who is not to be mocked or deceived, and is very jealous when His name and religion are made use of to carry on impious designs, hath taken vengeance of such profanity, even to astonishment and admiration. And I wish from the bottom of my heart, it may cause all to tremble and repent who have practised the like, to the blasphemy of His name and the destruction of His people: so as they may never presume to do the like again! And I think it is not unseasonable for me to take the humble boldness to say thus much at this time.

'All the enemy's forces in Scotland are now disbanded. The committee of estates have declared against all of that party's sitting in the [Scottish] Parliament. Good elections are made in divers places of such as dissented from and opposed the late wicked engagement; and they are now raising a force of about 4,000 horse and foot:—which until they can complete they have desired me to leave two regiments of horse and two troops of dragoons. Which accordingly I have resolved, conceiving I have your warrant by your late votes so to do; and have left Major-General Lambert to command them.

'I have received, and so have the officers with me, many honours and civilities from the committee of estates, the city of Edinburgh, and ministers; with a noble entertainment, which we may not own as done to us, but as your servants. I am now marching towards Carlisle, and I shall give you such further accounts of your affairs as there shall be occasion.'

Our next glimpse of Cromwell, on his way south, is at Pontefract, the castle of which had been seized by the delinquents, and forcibly held from the Parliament by the governor, Morris, a staunch Royalist. 'They were,' says Cromwell, in a letter to the committee sitting at Derby House, 'well victualled with two hundred and twenty or forty head of fat cattle: and they have gotten salt enough for them, and more so, that I apprehend they are victualled for a twelvemonth. The place is very well known to be one of the strongest inland garrisons in the kingdom, well watered, situated upon a rock on every part of it, and therefore difficult to mine. The walls very thick and high, with strong towers. . . . . The country is exceedingly impoverished, not able to bear free quarter, nor well able to furnish provisions if we had moneys.'

Oliver, however, had no intention of personally undertaking the siege of this place; other and more imperative business, as will be seen, requiring his presence nearer London. Meanwhile, according to his recommendations, the House voted the necessary supplies and ammunition. The castle did not surrender until the following March.

We close this chapter with a remarkable letter

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written by Cromwell during his quiet sojourn at Knottingley, to his friend Hammond, at the Isle of Wight, who appears to have been ill-at-ease there, and troubled with conscientious scruples as to how far lawful resistance to constituted authority might fairly be carried. The lucid manner Cromwell deals with this subject, and the conclusions he arrives at, are but a prelude to the sad catastrophe, two months hence, at Whitehall.

'Knottingley, near Pontefract: November 25, 1648.

'*To Colonel Robert Hammond*: these—

'DEAR ROBIN,—No man rejoiceth more than mysel to see a line from thee. I know thou hast long been under trial. Thou shalt be no loser by it. All must work for the best.

'Thou desirest to hear my experiences. I can tell thee, I am such a one as thou didst formerly know, having a body of sin and death; but I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord, there is no condemnation, though much infirmity; and I wait for the redemption. And in this poor condition I obtain mercy and sweet consolation through the Spirit; and find abundant cause every day to exalt the Lord, and abase the flesh, and herein, I have some exercise.

'As to outward dispensations, if we may so call them, we have not been without our share of beholding some remarkable providences and appearances of the Lord: His presence hath been amongst us, and by the light of His countenance we have prevailed. We are sure the good will of Him who dwelt in the Bush hath shined upon us, and we can humbly say,

we know in whom we have believed; who can and will perfect what remaineth and us also in doing what is well-pleasing in His eye-sight.

'I find some trouble in your spirit, occasioned first, not only by the continuance of your sad and heavy burden as you call it, but [also] by the dissatisfaction you take at the ways of some good men whom you love with your heart, who [act] through this principle—that it is lawful for a lesser part, if in the right, to [resort] to force.

'To the first: [you] call your burden sad or heavy: If your Father laid it upon you, He intended neither. He is the Father of lights, from whom comes every good and perfect gift; who of His own will begot us, and bade us count it all joy when such things befall us; they being for the exercise of faith and patience, "whereby in the end we shall be made perfect." (James i.)

'Dear Robin, our fleshly reasonings ensnare us: these make us say "heavy," "sad," "pleasant," "easy." Was there not a little of this when Robert Hammond, through dissatisfaction, too, desired retirement from the army, and thought of quiet in the Isle of Wight? Did not God find him out there? I believe he will never forget this. And now I perceive he is to seek again, partly through this heavy burden, and partly through his dissatisfaction with friends' actings.

'Dear Robin, thou and I were never worthy to be door-keepers in this service. If thou wilt seek, seek to know the mind of God in all that chain of Providence whereby God brought thee thither, and that person to thee: how, before and since God has ordered

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him, and affairs concerning him: and then tell me, whether there be not some glorious and high meaning in all this, before what thou hast yet attained? And laying aside thy fleshly reason, seek of the Lord to teach thee what *that* is; and He will do it. I dare be positive to say, It is not that the wicked should be exalted that God should so appear; as, indeed, He hath done; for there is no peace to *them*. No, it is set upon the hearts of such as fear the Lord; and we have witness upon witness that it shall go ill with them and their partakers.

'I say, again, seek that spirit to teach thee, which is the spirit of knowledge and understanding, the spirit of council and might, of wisdom, and of the fear of the Lord. That spirit will close thine eyes and stop thine ears, so that thou shalt not judge *by* them; but thou shalt judge *for* the meek of the earth, and thou shalt be made able to do accordingly. The Lord direct thee to that which is well pleasing in His eyesight.

'As to thy dissatisfaction at friends' actings upon that supposed principle, I wonder not at that. If a man take not his own burden well, he shall hardly others; especially if involved by so near a relation of love and Christian brotherhood as thou art. I shall not take upon myself to satisfy, but I hold myself bound to lay my thoughts before so dear a friend. The Lord do His own will.

'You say, "God hath appointed authorities among the nations, to which active or passive obedience is to be yielded. This resides in England in the Parliament. Therefore active or passive obedience, &c."

'Authorities and powers are the ordinance of God.

This or that species is of human institution, and limited, some with larger, others with stricter, bands, each one according to its constitution. [But] I do not, therefore, think the authorities may do anything, and yet such obedience be due.

'All agree that there are cases in which it is lawful to resist. If so, your ground fails, and so likewise the inference. Indeed, dear Robin, not to multiply words, the query is, whether *ours* be such a case? This, ingenuously, is the true question.

'To this I shall say nothing, though I could say very much; but only desire thee to see what thou findest in thy own heart to two or three plain considerations. *First*, whether *Salus Populi* be a sound position. Secondly, whether in the way in hand, really and before the Lord, before whom conscience has to stand, this be provided for:—or, if the whole fruit of the war is not like to be frustrated, and *all* most like to turn to what it was, and worse? And this, contrary to engagements, explicit covenants with those who ventured their lives upon those covenants and engagements, without whom, perhaps, in equity, relaxation ought not to be? Thirdly, whether this army be not a lawful power, called by God to oppose and fight against the King upon some stated grounds; and being in power to such ends may not oppose one name of authority for those ends, as well as another name, since it was not the outward authority summoning them, that by *its* power made the quarrel lawful, but the quarrel *was* lawful in itself? If so, it may be, acting will be justified *in foro humano*. But truly this kind of reasonings may be but fleshly,

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either with, or against; only it is good to try, what truth may be in them. And the Lord teach us.

'My dear friend, let us look into providences; surely they mean somewhat. They hang so together—have been so constant, so clear, unclouded. Malice, swoln malice, against God's people, now called 'saints,' to root out their name; and yet they, these poor saints, getting arms, and therein blessed with defence and more! I desire he that is for a principle of suffering would not too much slight this. I slight not him who is so minded; but let us beware lest fleshly reasoning see more safety in making use of this principle than in acting! Who acts, if he resolves not through God to be willing to part with all? Our hearts are very deceitful; on the right and on the left.

'What think you of Providence disposing the hearts of so many of God's people this way, especially in this poor army, wherein the great God has vouchsafed to appear! I know not one officer among us, but is on the increasing hand [of this opinion.] And let me say, it is after much patience,—here in the north. We trust, the same Lord who hath framed our minds in our actings, as with us in this also. And all contrary to a natural tendency, and to those comforts *our* hearts could wish to enjoy as well as others. And the difficulties probably to be encountered with, and the enemies, not few, even all that is glorious in this world. Appearances of united names, titles, and authorities, and yet not terrified: only desiring to fear our great God, that we do nothing against His will. Truly this is our condition.

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'And to conclude. We in this northern army were in a waiting posture, desiring to see what the Lord would lead us to . . . . Dear Robin, beware of men: look up to the Lord. Let Him be free to speak and command in thy heart. Take heed of the things I fear thou hast reasoned thyself into; and thou shalt be able through Him, without consulting flesh and blood, to do valiantly for Him and His people.

'Thou mentionest somewhat as if, by acting against such opposition as is like to be, there will be a tempting of God. Dear Robin, tempting of God ordinarily is either by acting presumptuously in carnal confidence, or in unbelief through diffidence: both these ways Israel tempted God in the wilderness, and He was grieved by them. Not the encountering difficulties, therefore, makes us to tempt God: but the acting before and without faith. If the Lord have in any measure persuaded His people, as generally He hath, of the lawfulness, nay of the *duty*, this persuasion prevailing upon the heart is faith; and acting thereupon is acting in faith; and the more the difficulties are, the more the faith. And it is most sweet that he that is not persuaded have patience towards them that are, and judge not: and this will free thee from the trouble of other's actings; which thou sayest, adds to thy grief. Only let me offer two or three things, and I have done.

'Dost not thou think this fear of the levellers (of whom there is no fear "that they would destroy nobility, &c.") has caused some to take up corruption, and find it lawful to make this ruining hypocritical

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agreement on one part?[1] Hath not this biassed even some good men? I will not say the thing they fear will come upon them; but if it do, they will themselves bring it upon themselves. Have not some of our friends, by their passive principle, been occasioned to overlook what is just and honest, and to think the people of God may have as much or more good the one way than the other? Good by this man,—against whom the Lord hath witnessed; and whom thou knowest! Is this so in their hearts; or is it reasoned, forced in?

'Robin, I have done. Ask we our hearts. Whether we think, that after all these dispensations, the like to which many generations cannot afford—should end in so corrupt reasonings of good men; and should so hit the designs of bad? Thinkest thou, in thy heart, that the glorious dispensations of God point out this? Or to teach His people to trust in Him, and to wait for better things,—when, it may be, better are sealed to many of their spirits? And I, as a poor looker-on, I had rather live in the hope of that spirit [which believes that God does teach us] and take my share with *them*, expecting a good issue, than be led away with the others.

'This trouble I have been at, because my soul loves thee, and I would not have thee swerve, or lose any glorious opportunity the Lord puts into thy hand. The Lord be thy counsellor. Dear Robin, I rest thine,

'OLIVER CROMWELL.'

[1] Treaty now going on at Newport.

CHAPTER XIV.

Last Treaty with the King—Its Failure—Parliament disposed to Temporize with the Royalists—Vigilant Watchfulness of Cromwell's Friends—Composition of Delinquents' Estates. Cromwell's Firmness in Colonel Owen's Case—Army Petition against the Newport Treaty—Chief Features of the Treaty—Unyielding Character of the Prelates and Clergy who surround the Monarch—Sunday Observances at Court—The Breach widens between Parliament and the Army—The Provoking Causes as stated by Fairfax—Army Remonstrances—A New Cry raised of 'Justice against the Chief Delinquent!'—Approach of the Final Struggle for Supremacy—Vote of the House, and Response of the Army—Head Quarters Removed from St. Alban's to Windsor—The Last Week in November and the State of Parties—Secret Expedition Organized to Seize the King—Council of War—Colonel Ewer Dispatched with Troops to Carisbrook Castle—The King Removed by Ewer to Hurst Castle—Hammond Superseded—Anger of the House of Commons, and its Refusal to Consider the Army Remonstrance—The Army Marches on London—Publish their Declaration—Alarm of the Citizens—Soldiers Quartered at Whitehall—Another great Debate in the House—Pride's Purge—Terror among the Corporation—40,000*l.* demanded by the General—Agreed to by the Common Council—Cromwell appears in Parliament and Receives Vote of Thanks—Release of the Presbyterian Members—The Army Leaders Paramount—Speedy proceedings taken against the King—Trial and Execution.

ONE more treaty, the last of the series which, like its predecessors, was destined to come to nothing, had been begun with the King at the Isle of Wight. True to his royal instincts and convictions, which no adversity could instruct, he was still strong as ever in the belief that the settlement of the nation without him was a moral impossibility. He had just seen the revolted fleet under the command of the

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fiery Rupert, scattered to the winds in the Downs; the armed intervention of the Scottish nation equally brought to naught, and the Cavaliers everywhere discomfited, yet he clung, with all the tenacity of his nature, to the vain hope of being able to win by negotiation what he had failed to obtain by force of arms.

In truth, the Parliament, relieved for a time from the presence of the army, and the stern will of its guiding genius, had, during Cromwell's northern campaign, become daily more and more inclined to temporize as formerly with the Royalist and Presbyterian parties. Quick at discerning any opening for a compromise, the King lost no time in setting on foot another treaty. Meanwhile, instructions were issued dealing more leniently with the delinquents and their property. Cromwell's friends in London, took care to keep him well acquainted with these matters; and whilst detained before Pontefract, he more than once remonstrated in reference to the temporizing orders he received concerning delinquents.

Writing from Knottingly, near Pontefract, on November 20, to Messrs. Jenner and Ashe, two of the Parliament commissioners for arranging the compositions of delinquents' estates, he says:—

'I received an order from the Governor of Nottingham, directed to him from you, to bring up Colonel Owen, or take bail for his coming up to make his composition, he having made an humble petition to the Parliament for the same.

'If I be not mistaken, the House of Commons did vote *all* traitors that did adhere to, or bring in the

Scots, in their late invading of this kingdom, under Duke Hamilton. And not without very clear justice; this being a more prodigious treason than any that had been perfected before; because the former quarrel was, that Englishmen might rule over one another; this,—to vassalize us to a foreign nation. And their fault, who have appeared in this summer's business, is certainly double to theirs who were in the first, because it is a repetition of the same offence against all the witnesses that God has borne by making a second war. . . . .

'You will pardon me if I tell you how contrary this is to some of your judgments at the rendition of Oxford, when two years was thought too little to expiate *their* offence. But now, when you have *such* men in your hands, and it will cost you nothing to do justice; now, after all this trouble and the hazard of a second war,—for a little money all offences shall be pardoned! . . .

'Gentlemen, though my sense does appear more severe than perhaps you have would have it, yet give me leave to tell you I find a sense among the officers concerning such things—to amazement to see their blood made so cheap, and to see such manifest witnessings of God, (so terrible and so just) no more reverenced.'

On this same November 20, Cromwell wrote as follows to Fairfax:—

'I find, in the officers of the regiments, a very great sense of the sufferings of this poor kingdom; and in them all a very great zeal to have impartial justice done upon offenders. And I must confess, I do, in

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all from my heart, concur with them: and I verily think and am persuaded they are things which God puts into our hearts.'

With this letter was enclosed an important petition to the general, from the regiments under Cromwell, against the treaty going on at Newport, Isle of Wight. A glance at the chief features of the treaty which was subsequently presented to Parliament, and also at the army remonstrance, will suffice to show the great divergence of views, objects, and intentions between the real parties at issue. The army insisted that the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York 'be declared incapable of Government; that justice be done against capital causers 'of the war' (meaning the King); a period to be put to the duration of the present Parliament, and frequent Parliaments secured; that none who have engaged in the late war against the Parliament be capable of voting at elections; and, lastly, that no King of England should be permitted to reign but by the election of the people.

In reference to the treaty, the most favourable terms the Parliamentary commissioners could obtain from the King were a few trivial concessions, such as had already been declared unsatisfactory and insufficient: the greatest boon of all being withheld, namely, the abolishment of Episcopacy; he, however, informed the House that he had no intention 'to make any more bishops for three years.' More than this, his Majesty could not be prevailed on to sanction, although, as we are told, 'he was earnestly

begged by some of the commissioners with tears, and on their knees.'

Unyielding as ever, the prelates, so ably represented by those of the priestly party who still surrounded the monarch, were once more, and for the last time, triumphant; who, rather than diminish their own power and greatness, were willing to hazard the King, his crown, and his life. But it was to no purpose that their policy of delay had been accepted by his Majesty; and still trusting to the chapter of accidents that something would occur in his favour, he hesitated until too late giving them a refusal and dismissal.

On the Sunday following the King heard the prayers read as usual in the castle; the Parliamentary commissioners had their service in a room adjoining,—Vines and Marshal, the Presbyterian ministers, we are told, praying for a 'happy peace;' but a happy peace in their sense of the word must have been far from the desire of the King and the court, if we may judge from the following form of prayer his Majesty caused to be used on this occasion:—

'Soften the most obdurate hearts with a true Christian desire of saving these men's blood; or, if guilt of our great sins cause this treaty to break off, Lord, let truth clearly appear who those men are which, under pretence of the public good, do pursue their own private ends; that the people be no longer blindly miserable as not to see at least in this their duty the things that belong to their peace.'

The old breach between the Parliament and the army had again been renewed, and was widening

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daily. The same reckless inattention to the wants and requirements of the latter continued; accumulated arrears of pay; the necessity, so odious to the soldiers, of resorting to free quarters, still remained in unmitigated force as ever, the alternative being starvation. 'Not one penny for eighteen weeks, and the soldiers much discontented,' remarks a contemporary in the month of November. A report that the army intended early in October to march upon London, had the effect of frightening the Commons into a vote of 100,000*l.* for arrears, and an order for 5,000 suits of army clothing; but neither the money nor the clothes were ever delivered. To make this matter more aggravating to the soldiers, they found out that it was not for want of the means to furnish these requisites, but of inclination; for Fairfax stated distinctly, in his complaints to the House, three weeks later, when mentioning the trials, difficulties, and hardships the army had undergone, that the refusal could not be because 'there were no funds, for the taxes had been generally paid.'

Three petitions, or rather remonstrances, one from each of the three divisions of the army, were at this time presented, which gave great offence to Parliament. The respectful tone of humble suitors usually preserved in such documents was conspicuously absent; and a stern demand for 'justice against the *chief Delinquent* and his party' formed the chief burden of their requests. Expressions of obedience to, or a recognition of, the Parliament as the head tribunal, to whom allegiance was due, found no place in any of the three.

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It was clear that the final struggle for supremacy was at hand, the future destinies of England were to be decided in the favour of one party or the other, a joint occupancy of power being no longer practicable.

The results of so unequal a contest could never for a moment have been doubtful. On the one side, there was nothing but weakness, hesitation, timidity, and delay; on the other, straightforward boldness in a policy and plan promptly carried out with energy and decision. The key to the whole position, as on a former occasion, lay in the possession of the King's person. Here the Parliament committed a great error; instead of bringing his Majesty to their own stronghold of London, a step the King was desirous of taking, the Parliament, strange as it seems, left him almost unguarded in a remote island, surrounded by a mere handful of troops.

On November 15 the Houses passed a vote that the King should come with honour and safety to London, so soon as the concessions required in the treaty were agreed to. The army responded to this by removing their head-quarters from St. Alban's, where they had latterly been stationed, to Windsor. Then followed another of those solemn prayer-meetings, which lasted the whole day. At the conclusion a council of war was held, when it was unanimously agreed to bring 'Delinquents to justice, beginning with the King himself.'

The last week in November was a busy and eventful one in the history of the Civil War. At Pontefract, Cromwell, after writing the memorable letter

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before quoted, to Hammond, was preparing with all his available forces to unite with Fairfax, in order to make further demonstrations against the King and the Parliament. At St. Alban's, the army under Fairfax was equally engaged in arranging for its removal to Windsor, for a similar object; whilst in London the agitation consequent on the army remonstrances, and the threatened invasion of the city, had already put a stop to all business; the Parliament meanwhile preparing to oppose the Independents, in a last and final effort to uphold the supremacy of Presbyterianism. In each of these several spheres of action no union or combination existed, except so far as regarded the army. The others appeared blindly pursuing a separate and unconnected system, void of method or plan. The King being bent on using the Parliament for the destruction of the army; the Parliament equally as earnest to maintain Presbyterianism, yet anxious to come to terms with the King; at the same time greatly desiring to get rid of the overwhelming influence of the army; whilst the latter had for its leading object—which was pursued with relentless and fatal energy—the condign punishment of all delinquents, and of the 'chief Delinquent in particular.'

As a preliminary towards the accomplishment of this latter, a secret expedition to the Isle of Wight was organized, and rapidly put in execution, the morning after the council of war, by Colonel Ewer and some troops of horse, who were dispatched with instructions to seize the King and remove him to Hurst Castle, on the opposite coast of Hampshire.

This enterprise was successfully carried out by that officer on November 29, Hammond at the same time being superseded by an order from the council of war, and his presence at head-quarters required. The House of Commons, on learning what had taken place, in much irritation directed the Speaker to write to the general, requiring at once the reinstation of Hammond; and, as a further proof of their displeasure, the House came to a vote, by a majority of ninety, *not* to take into immediate consideration the army remonstrances lately received. On the news of this last act of hostility reaching the army, it was decided unanimously to march on London. Accordingly, on December 2, after a long prayer-meeting, attended by Fairfax and the principal officers, a declaration was agreed upon, in which they expressed their 'sad apprehensions of the danger and evil of the treaty, and of any accommodation with the King,' concluding with the remark, 'that they can see in the majority of those trusted with the great affairs of the kingdom, nothing less than a treacherous or corrupt neglect and apostacy from the public trust reposed in them.'

Fairfax also wrote a letter to the lord mayor and common council, acquainting them of the army's advance on London, and the grounds thereof, as set forth in the remonstrance which had been presented to the House by a deputation the week previous.

It was significantly added that for the better prevention of 'plunder, wrong, or disorder, 40,000*l.* had better be provided for their immediate wants by the night following on the arrival of the army.' In great tribulation the civic authorities posted down to the

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Commons and acquainted them with the extraordinary message they had received in the city; a long debate ensued, when it was voted that the 'city do forthwith provide the arrear of 40,000*l.* and a letter to be written to the general, informing him it was the pleasure of the House that he do not remove the army nearer London.'

It was all, however, of no avail; for the army marched into London, and took up their quarters, some at Whitehall, others at the King's Mews, and the remainder in the city and suburbs.

On December 5 ensuing, there followed another great debate, not terminating until five the next morning, when a resolution was carried, by a majority of forty-six, to the effect that the concessions made by the King '*were* sufficient grounds for settling the peace of the kingdom.'

This decision of the House, however, had come too late. Legislative enactments, be they what they may, when passed in the presence of a bold, unscrupulous, and victorious army, seldom succeed in becoming law.

The vote had scarcely been recorded ere the great blow was struck by the army at the independence of the Parliament, and Colonel Pride, with his regiment of foot, accompanied by a regiment of horse, under Colonel Rich, received instructions to take possession of all the approaches leading to the House of Commons. They found the train-bands who had been appointed to guard the avenues since the late disturbances in possession; but that force, seeing no chance for successful opposition, withdrew immediately, and Colonel Pride proceeded to draw up his regiment,

and to post his soldiers on the stairs, and in the lobby of the House. Shortly after, the members began to assemble, quite unconscious of what was about to happen. With Colonel Pride came also Lord Grey of Groby, and, as the members entered, Pride, having a list in his hand of the proscribed names, gave orders to seize on those who were pointed out by Lord Grey. Forty-one were arrested and marched off to a neighbouring tavern, exclaiming vehemently, but in vain, against this violation of law. The sergeant-at-arms was now despatched to General Fairfax, with the orders of the House, that the detained members should be released instantly; Fairfax, on his part, sent a message complaining that Messrs. Denzil, Hollis, Copley, Major-General Massey, and others of the expelled members, who were impeached of high treason and disabled, had been permitted to take their seats during the absence of the army.

So matters remained for the rest of the morning. Military despotism had, in fact, supplanted all the powers of the State. The following day more arrests were made, nor did they cease until the minority in the House had become the majority, and the Presbyterians no longer possessed the power to oppose.

This *coup d'état* was followed by a proclamation, issued by General Fairfax, commanding all delinquents to depart from London, to a distance not under ten miles from the metropolis, under pain of death.

At the same time all the money that could be found at the Haberdashers', Weavers', and Goldsmiths' Halls was forcibly taken possession of by two regiments sent for that purpose. These energetic mea-

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sures created great terror in the city, the common council at once met, and speedily came to the decision that the 40,000*l.* which the general demanded should be provided, and they humbly petitioned that the army might be withdrawn from the city. The only notice Fairfax condescended to take of their request was an intimation that unless the money was forthcoming within fifteen days, more regiments should be quartered upon them, 'in order to facilitate the work.'

On the evening of December 6 Cromwell, after a long absence, appeared once more in Parliament. On this occasion he came to receive the vote of 'hearty thanks for his great service in both kingdoms;' and on that night, says Ludlow, in his Memoirs, 'Cromwell slept for the first time at Whitehall.'

Ludlow, who was no partisan of Cromwell's, has done him the justice to state, in his Memoirs, that on this same evening, the general in a conversation assured him that he had been kept entirely ignorant of the design (Pride's purge); 'adding, that since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it.'

As might have been expected, the first act of the 'purged' House of Commons was to rescind the obnoxious votes passed against the army. In the city, too, there was no longer observed the belligerent hostility so recently rampant, and the week was barely over when their docility to the new order of things became manifest. 'Free quarter' was found no trifling burden, and great was the outcry in consequence. Within a week the required amount of

money was forthcoming, and beds in abundance were provided for the soldiers, who were then removed and lodged in the empty dwellings, and in the suburbs. All opposition being at an end, the Presbyterian members were released from custody, and invited to resume their places in the House; but, instead of doing so, in the exercise of a wise discretion, after what had occurred, they thought proper to decline, and retired into the country.

The will of the army leaders being now paramount, on December 12 a resolution passed the House of Commons, that no further addresses to the King for a personal treaty should be presented, such a proceeding being held 'highly dishonourable to the Parliament.' Meanwhile, petitions from all parts of the country, and from the different garrisons throughout the kingdom, were presented to Parliament, praying for 'justice against the King.' The House lost no time in taking these petitions into consideration; and, on December 23, a resolution passed for 'bringing the chief Delinquent' to trial:—with what results history has made known. In brief, Charles I. was brought to Windsor on December 23, removed to St. James's on the 15th of January following: his trial commenced on the 20th, sentence passed on the 27th, and the last sad act was carried into effect on the 30th of January, 1649.

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LONDON: PRINTED BY
SPOTTISWOODE AND CO., NEW-STREET SQUARE
AND PARLIAMENT STREET

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018